THE IMAGE OF CHRIST IN *THE REVELATIONS OF DIVINE LOVE* OF JULIAN OF NORWICH

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DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE DEPARTMENT
OF THEOLOGY AT FORDHAM UNIVERSITY

NEW YORK
1975

XUM

FORDHAM UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

APRIL 25th, 1975

This dissertation prepared under my direction by

MARY FRANCES MEANY

entitled THE IMAGE OF CHRIST IN THE REVELATIONS OF DIVINE LOVE OF JULIAN OF NORWICH

has been accepted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the

Degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (in Theology)

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Dame Julian of Norwich personifies that Christocentric spirituality which begins in devotion to the humanity of Jesus Christ and proceeds to contemplation of the divinity. Dame Julian was, she tells us, "a simple creature, that cowde no letter."[1] She was not a trained theologian nor even a trained preacher or teacher. She was, as we know not from herself but from a contemporary source,[2] an anchoress, a woman who had withdrawn from the ordinary pursuits of life in the world in order to devote herself to God, to concentrate on the religious ideal which was recommended to all medieval Christians in some form, the life of contemplation. The experience of God which Dame Julian describes in *The Revelations of Divine Love* exemplifies the spiritual attitude of fourteenth century England insofar as she necessarily makes use of the concepts and images, the ideas and vocabulary of the late medieval

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[1] Julian of Norwich, *Revelations of Divine Love*, ed. by Grace Warrack (8th ed.; London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1923), p. 3 and note 1. All references to the *Revelations of Divine Love* are to Miss Warrack's 8th ed., cited as *Revelations*, unless otherwise specified.

[2] The scribe of British Museum Add. Ms. 37790, formerly in the Amherst collection.

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Church. Despite the moving sincerity of her book, Dame Julian was not an influential force in medieval spirituality. She can be approached better as a reflection than as a shaper of contemporary spirituality. She is the ideal Christian the Church of her day labored to produce. Untrained in formal theology, she reflects the level of understanding which the serious-minded lay person might be expected to have of the teaching of the Church. She herself insists that she was never led away from the common teaching of Holy Church.[3] By this we should understand not so much an affirmation of the centuries of tradition of that Church, but rather an acknowledgment of the contemporary framework of that tradition. On the one hand, then, Dame Julian's book is an important document for an understanding of fourteenth century English spirituality. On the other hand, her exposition of the divine love is of spiritual as well as of historical interest. Most important, spiritually, is the Christocentric piety which characterizes her book.

In what we may call the popular piety of Dame Julian's day, the earthly life of Jesus Christ, especially His Passion and Death, was the main object of devotion, the dominant motif of late medieval religion all over Europe. Often, however, devotion to the figure of Jesus Christ did not lead the devotee beyond the Sacred Humanity to appreciate the Incarnate Divinity, and so to contemplate the Trinity. This progression was urged not only by preachers of the stature of St. Bernard, but also by such lesser figures as Dame Julian's contemporary and compatriot Walter Hilton. It is indeed the classic Christian spirituality. Nonetheless, an examination of the literature and art of the later Middle Ages, not only in England but also on the Continent, prompts us to conclude that in fact, although not in theory, the predominant theme of medieval piety is the evocation of contrition for sin and a purpose of moral reform, by means of concentration on the Passion.[4] The Passion is the basis of that revelation of divine love which Dame Julian received in May 1373, as well as the focal point in her spiritual life. Her attitude before the Crucifix is conditioned by the image of the Crucified with which her age furnished her. We find, however, that Dame Julian combines a lively, fervent and typical devotion to the Passion with an equally lively and fervent but less typical appreciation of that Passion as the work not only of the suffering Incarnate Son, but of the Trinity Itself. The Passion which, as it were, distracted so many of her contemporaries from the Triune God was for her precisely the way into that divinity. This truly Christocentric piety expressed in the vocabulary and imagery of the educated laity is Dame Julian's great contribution to the history of Christian spirituality. Dame Julian was not the seed from which fresh insights grew, but the fruit of what was best in the Church which nourished her. The flower whose perfume attracts us to the plant is the optimism and joy which radiate from her book, and it is not an exotic bloom but a domestic English rose. Dame Julian has great confidence in the Divine Goodness, just because He condescended to become personally involved in His creation, because in His courtesy the Lord is homely to His servant.[5] Dame Julian's confidence in the divine love arises from her experience of the intimacy between God and the soul, an intimacy which she expresses in the image of Jesus as Mother. This image is not original to the Lady Julian, but it expresses perfectly the tone of her experience of God, and becomes not an oddity, an excrescence deflecting attention from the main theme but a reflection of that theme. The Revelation of divine love is the Homely Shewing of His love. The domestic, stable, familial atmosphere of medieval English spirituality is summed up in Dame Julian's emphasis on the homely love, and this intimacy is the basis of that optimism which is the most striking characteristic of her book. It is this trust in the Divine Goodness which is responsible for the serene joy which she expresses. But there is an element in this joy which sets Dame Julian apart, again, from many of her contemporaries: she experiences joy in response to the joy of the Trinity precisely in experiencing the sorrow of the Passion.[6] The note of joy in devotion to the Passion was not common in the later Middle Ages, when less attention was paid to the victory wrought by the Passion than to the process of the Passion itself. The true Christocentrism and the homely optimism and joy which result from it make Dame Julian's book of more than historical interest. It is a minor classic of Christian spirituality.

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[3] Revelations, p. 20.

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[4] Admittedly one of the important strains of this theme was the belief that Jesus Christ Who suffered for man is the God-man. Belief in His divinity, however, was ordered to the appreciation of His great suffering.

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[5] Revelations, p. 16.

The Revelations of Divine Love is not an organized treatise. The skeleton of the book is the account of the sixteen "shewings" which Dame Julian received May 8-9, 1373. These "shewings" were the basis of reflection and meditation for Dame Julian for at least the next twenty years, during which time she received further enlightenment, and the fruit of this reflection and enlightenment is also incorporated in the book, not only in the two sections labeled "Anent Certain Points in the Foregoing Fourteen Revelations" and "Sundry Teachings," but also in the chapters describing the revelations themselves. For this reason, a given theme may be found discussed in several different passages, occurring throughout the book. Because of the years of reflection which preceded the writing of the book, moreover, deepening levels of meaning may be discovered for any one theme, as Dame Julian herself indicates, for example, in her presentation of the allegory of the Servant.[7] Dame Julian was not writing a doctrinal exposition of the dogma of the Redemption, nor an analysis of the spiritual life. She is writing a descriptive account of her own experience of the divine love. This fact explains not only the somewhat diffuse form of the book, but also the personal feeling which animates it despite the determinedly anonymous character in which Dame Julian clothes herself. Most importantly, it explains the the attitude which Dame Julian assumes when a conflict seems to appear between what she was shown in the revelations and what she believed on the authority of the Church, the most definite case of this conflict being the difficulty of harmonizing the affirmation of the goodness of God which makes all things well with the teaching that sin is an evil which results in the condemnation of souls. Dame Julian sets forth the problem, but she is not able to indicate a satisfactory doctrinal resolution to the problem.

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[6] Ibid., p. 45.

There are two versions of the book, a longer and a shorter version. It is the virtually unanimous opinion of commentators on the Lady Julian that both versions were written by her and that the shorter version of the book, contained in a fifteenth century manuscript, now B. M. Add. Ms. 37790, the Amherst manuscript, was written before the longer version. It seems likely that this shorter version was written soon after the revelations were received, and it has been suggested that Dame Julian wrote it in order to provide an account of her experience for her ecclesiastical superiors.[8] In this shorter version, the long section "Anent Certain Points," between the fourteenth and fifteenth revelations, and the last chapters of the "Sundry Teachings," chapters LXXV-LXXVI of the longer version, are missing, as well as some parts of the chapters in the early part of the book. The relative lack of material expressing what we have called the fruit of her meditation and of the later enlightenment which she received makes the hypothesis that this version was written rather soon after the revelations were received seem most probable. In particular, it is surely significant that this version does not include Dame Julian's own summation of the meaning of the revelations, a summation based on a "ghostly understanding" which she received fifteen years and more after the original experience, and which showed her that "Love was His meaning."[9] The Amherst manuscript, the unique manuscript now extant of this version, includes a preface by the scribe:

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[7] _Ibid_., p. 110.

> Here es a vision schewed be the goodness of God to a devoute Woman and hir name es Julyan that is recluse atte Norwyche and yitt ys on lyfe. Anno dno millimo CCCCXIII. In the whilke Vision

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[8] John Lawlor, "A Note on the Revelations of Julian of Norwich," Review of English Studies, New Series II (1951), 257-58.

[9] Revelations, p. 203.

> er fulle many comfortabylle wordes and gretly styrrande to alle thaye that desyres to be crystes looverse.

There is also a colophon: "Explicit Juliane de Norwych." The Anglican Divine Dundas Harford printed an edition of this version from Add. Ms. 37790 under the title _Comfortable Words for Christ's Lovers_, in London in 1911, with a second edition in 1912, and a third edition in 1925 entitled _The Shewings of the Lady Julian, Recluse at Norwich, 1373_. Sister Anna Maria Reynolds printed an edition of this manuscript in London, 1958, entitled _A Shewing of God's Love: The Shorter Version of "Sixteen Revelations of Divine Love."_ In both cases, modernizations of the text were made.

The longer version of the book was written at least twenty years after the revelations, and it is the basis of this thesis since it recounts not only the visions and the later teachings, but also the fullness of Dame Julian's own reflections. The longer version is now extant in three manuscripts:

> Bibliotheque nationale, Paris, Fonds Anglais, no. 40, a sixteenth century manuscript;
> British Museum Sloane Ms. 2499, from the mid-seventeenth century;
> British Museum Sloane Ms. 3708, late seventeenth or early eighteenth century.

There are excerpts from the longer version in a _Florilegium_ in the Westminster Cathedral Library, a fifteenth century manuscript which includes extracts from Walter Hilton. A modern edition of this was printed by Betty Foucard in the _Westminster Cathedral Chronicle_ in 1956. The readings from

Dame Julian in this manuscript agree with the Paris manuscript where that differs from Sloane 2499, and this suggests to some editors that the Paris manuscript is closer to the original tradition. Most editors, however, consider Sloane 2499 closer to the East Anglian dialect. The most obvious difference between Sloane 2499 and the Paris manuscript is that Sloane 2499 includes a table of contents and chapter headings not in the Paris manuscript. Furthermore, the Paris manuscript has a colophon: "Explicit liber Revelationum Julyane anatorite Norwyche cuius anime propicietur Deus." Sloane 2499 has no colophon and does not mention the author by name. Sloane 3705 may be a version of Sloane 2499 with modernized language, and concludes:

> Here end the Sublime & wonderful Revelations of the unutterable Love of God in Jesus Xt, vouchsafed to a dear Lover of His, and in her to all His dear friends & Lovers, whose hearts, like hers do flame in the Love of our Dearest Jesus.

The scribe of Sloane 2499 concludes:

> Thus endeth the Revelation of Love of the blissid Trinite shewid by our Savior Christ Jesu for our endles comfort and solace and also to enjoyen in him in this passand journey of this life.

Another manuscript once existed in the collection of the seventeenth century French Protestant Pierre Poiret, who described the revelations as _theodidactae_, _profundae_, _extaticae_ in his _Catalogus Auctorem Mysticorum_, published in Amsterdam in 1702. This manuscript is referred to by the German Protestant Gerhard Tersteegen in his _Auserlesene Beschreibungen Heiliger Seelen_, 1733-1753. A manuscript once in the library of the eighteenth century Englishman Francis Peck may have been the lost original, but is probablY identical with the Amherst manuscript, which is of just the same length and has the same preface which the Peck manuscript is known to have had.[10]

The earliest printed edition of the longer version was that prepared by the English Benedictine Serenus de Cressy in 1770, while in exile in France, using the Paris manuscript. This edition was reprinted by the Anglican G. H. Parker in Leicester, 1843, and by the controversial George Tyrell, then still a Jesuit, in London, 1902. This edition was reprinted in 1920. The Cistercian Henry Collins printed an edition based on Sloane 2499, with considerable modernization in London, 1877. Grace Warrack printed her first edition of the book from Sloane 2499 in London, 1901, and this has been probably the most popular presentation, reaching its eighth edition in 1923. A French edition based on Sloane 2499 by the Benedictine Gabriel Meunier, who discovered Sloane 3705, appeared in Paris in 1910, with a second edition in 1925. The English Benedictine Roger Huddleston printed an edition from Sloane 2499 in London, 1927. This, with Miss Warrack's edition was the most widely available version until 1961, when James Walsh published an edition in New York. Professor Walsh and Miss Warrack both collate the Paris manuscript with Sloane 2499, but whereas Miss Warrack relies chiefly on Sloane 2499, Professor Walsh relies on the Paris manuscript, which he modernises considerably. The latest edition is that published in paperback for Penguin Books by Clifton Wolters in 1966, again based on Sloane 2499.

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[10] See Warrack, p. xii and pp. ix-x.

The diffuse form of the book makes a general summary of the contents of special value. The fuller version of the *Revelations of Divine Love* opens with a short autobiographical statement in which the events of May 8th and 9th are situated in the life of the Lady Julian, but in which almost nothing of her external life is described. The rest of the book is structured around the sixteen revelations. In chapter three, Dame Julian tells how she was given a crucifix to contemplate as she lay dying, and she recalls her previous desire for the wound of compassion which she renewed as she lay there. In chapter four she suddenly sees the head of the Crucifix begin to bleed and understands that Christ is revealing this to her. In this first revelation, described in chapters four through nine, she sees the Trinity's joy which fills her heart with joy, and is shown that the Incarnation is the ground of the oneing of man to God. This perception of the Godhead in the Passion is the foundation of all the shewings, and the first revelation contains the seed of all that she was to see. Here is sounded the theme of the loving goodness of God, as when in the figure of a hazelnut she sees that all creation is so little next to the Creator that it is as nothing, but that He loves it and keeps it, or when in the image of the soul clothed in God, she sees how close and homely is his love for man.

The second revelation, described in chapter ten, is a sight of the face of the Crucified changing color, but this vision was dim. Dame Julian learned from it that sin darkens our vision of God, but that He wills that we continue to seek Him, and in His goodness makes that possible. The dimness of the seeking is in contrast with the brightness of the "special shewings" which she received, but the seeking is not less pleasing to God than the beholding.

In the third shewing, recounted in chapter eleven, Dame Julian sees God in a point and understands that "He is in all things," and "that sin is no deed."[11]

The fourth revelation, chapter twelve, is a vision of the blood which flowed from the body of the Crucified as plenteously as the waters of the earth so "that we take full homely His blessed blood to wash us of sin."[12]

Christ's Passion overcomes the devil, Dame Julian is told in the fifth revelation, chapter thirteen.

In the sixth revelation, chapter fourteen, God thanks Dame Julian for her travail, and she is shown that every man will be rewarded for his service.

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[11] Revelations, pp. 26 and 27.

[12] Ibid., p. 29.

Dame Julian alternates between joy and pain, by which in the seventh revelation, chapter fifteen, God teaches her that He keeps us "secure in woe and weal."[13]

The eighth revelation provides Dame Julian's longest description of the Passion. She sees Christ dying and describes the dry cold pain which He suffered. Mary's compassion with her Son shows Dame Julian that we are oned to Christ, for "when he was in pain, we were in pain."[14] Then the countenance of the dying Christ changes from suffering to joy, and Dame Julian is taught that the reason we should sorrow here with Christ is so that we shall share His joy in heaven.

Following this, the ninth revelation, chapters twenty-two and twenty-three, stresses the theme of the "Glad Giver," the rejoicing of the Trinity in the Passion. Christ tells her how willingly He suffered for her: "It is a joy, a bliss, an endless satisfying to me that ever suffered I Passion for thee; and if I might suffer more, I would suffer more."[15]

In the tenth revelation, chapter twenty-four, Dame Julian sounds the theme of the wound in Christ's side, through which man enters into the Godhead.

In the eleventh revelation, chapter twenty-five, Dame Julian sees in Mary how she herself is loved by Christ.

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[13] Ibid., p. 35.

[14] Ibid., p. 40.

[15] Ibid., p. 47.

The description of the twelfth revelation is the shortest of all, one short chapter (twenty-six). "I it am," Christ tells Dame Julian, and she comprehends that He is "fulness of joy, homely and courteous, blissful and very life."[16] She sees that He is most glorious, and she understands what she cannot describe, her joy surpassing all desire and her perception beyond communication.

In the long thirteenth revelation, chapters twenty-seven through forty, the Lady Julian is told that "sin is behovable, but all shall be well and all shall be well and all manner of thing shall be well."[17] The problem of sin and its place in the order arranged by the Good God Who promises that all shall be well is most difficult for her to understand, and she returns to it later. In chapter thirty-one, she emphasizes Christ's spiritual thirst, the counterpart of the physical thirst described in the eighth revelation, and understands that the spiritual thirst will last until all the saved come to heaven, the spiritual thirst draws them there. In this revelation she is told that sin will be turned to worship in heaven, helping the good man by rousing his contrition and securing God's mercy to him because of the suffering which sin cause to the good soul. It is in this revelation, also, that Dame Julian speaks of "a Godly Will that never assented to sin, nor ever shall,"[18] as she tries to grasp how the saved soul is never parted from God. Chapters thirty-nine and forty contain Dame Julian's teaching on the preliminary stages of penance and purification, the beginning of the life of prayer. This revelation is a particularly clear example of how the result of later meditation on the matter of the revelations is incorporated into the description of the revelations.

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[16] Ibid., p. 54.

[17] Ibid., p. 56.

The fourteenth revelation, chapters forty-one through forty-three, contains Dame Julian's chief teaching on prayer which "oneth the soul to God."[19] Christ tells her that He is the Ground of prayer.

Between the fourteenth and fifteenth revelations, in chapters forty-four through sixty-three, Dame Julian intersperses the section "Anent Certain Points in the Foregoing Fourteen Revelations." In this section she returns to the question of sin and evil. In chapter fifty-one, Dame Julian recounts the allegory of the Lord and Servant, which she calls a "misty shewing." When the servant falls into sin, the Lord sends His true Servant to save Him and rewards the fallen servant for the suffering he endured in his fall. This allegory is of great importance in the development of Dame Julian's understanding of the Incarnation and of the Redemption. The Servant is Adam and Christ, He is sent by the Lord to recover a great lost treasure, and when He returns with the treasure the Lord is able to resume His seat in His destined City. In chapters fifty-nine and sixty, Dame Julian describes Christ as our Mother. This is probably the most characteristic image which she uses to express her experience of God, and is the ultimate symbol of the homeliness of the divine love.

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[18] _Ibid_., p. 76.

[19] _Ibid_., p. 90.

In the fifteenth revelation, chapters sixty-four and sixty-five, Dame Julian is told that man will be taken from his suffering to the fulfillment of love in heaven, as she saw a fair child, the soul, freed from a foul, shapeless body.

After the fifteenth revelation, Dame Julian tells us that she doubted whether she had been shown these things by God. Sleeping, she dreamed of the devil, of fire and a great stench. Waking, she asked those around her bed if they smelled the odor, and when they said no, she understood that the doubt and dream were a temptation of the devil. She turned then to what she had been shown and what she held on the faith of the Church and was brought to peace.

The sixteenth shewing, chapters sixty-seven and sixty-eight, is a revelation that Christ has "His homeliest home and endless dwelling" in our soul.[20]

After this, the devil attacks her again but is overcome by the Passion, as she says in chapter sixty-nine.

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[20] *Ibid.*, p. 167.

This is the end of the shewings, and Dame Julian then includes several chapters touching on sin, on faith, hope and charity, chapters seventy-one to eighty-five, the section on "Sundry Teachings." She refers especially back to the twelfth revelation, and says that she sees three properties of God, Life, Love and Light.

After these last chapters re-examining the shewings, Dame Julian tells that fifteen years afterwards God told her "in ghostly understanding" that "Love was the meaning" of it all.[21]

Dame Julian has been studied previously from two points of view, her contribution to English prose and her contribution to the doctrine of spirituality. In the first case, the most important work is that by Robert Karl Stone, Middle English Prose Style: Margery Kempe and Julian of Norwich (The Hague: Mouton and Co., 1970), a full-length study based on the thesis that homiletic and devotional writing kept English prose alive in the face of Latin and French, and that much of the devotional prose was especially intended for unlearned women. R. W. Chambers, On the Continuity of English Prose (London: Early English Text Society, Original Series 191A, 1957) and Herbert Read, English Prose Style (Boston: Beacon Press, 1961) also situate Dame Julian in the context of the shaping of English prose by vernacular religious writing, as does the article by Elizabeth

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[21] Ibid., p. 202.

Zeeman,"Continuity in Middle English Devotional Prose," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, LV (1956), 417-22, which especially mentions the simplicity of the East Anglian style in contrast to the more rhetorical Northern style. By far the most important examination of Dame Julian's doctrine of spirituality is that by the Jesuit Paul Molinari, *Julian of Norwich: The Teaching of a Fourteenth Century English Mystic* (London: Longmans, Green, 1958). Father Molinari does not make an historical study, but situates Dame Julian in the context of traditional Catholic spirituality, especially in the light of the classic sixteenth century authorities, and demonstrates the essential orthodoxy of her approach. This book is an absolute prerequisite for any further study of Dame Julian from the religious point of view. Less successful is R. E. Thouless, *The Lady Julian: A Psychological Study* (London: S.P.C.K., 1924) which shows less comprehension of the tradition to which Dame Julian belongs. Of the modern editors of the *Revelations of Divine Love,* Miss Warrack, Sister Anna Maria Reynolds, Dom Roger Huddleston and Dom Gabriel Meunier, James Walsh and Clifton Wolters, all provide good introductions, although perhaps that by Walsh is the most valuable, insofar as he shows some awareness of her *milieu*. Sister Anna Maria Reynolds' comments are also particularly helpful. Anthologies of English spirituality or studies of that spirituality which deal with Dame Julian and which can be recommended are: Eric Colledge, *The*

Medieval Mystics of England (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1961), in which the introduction traces the influences which made up the tradition of these mystics of the twelfth through the fifteenth centuries. The majority of the book consists in short excerpts from the medieval writers themselves. William Ralph Inge, *Studies of English Mystics* (London, 1906), reveals his background among the Cambridge Platonists in his presentation of mysticism as not only love of God but the true gnosis, and he perhaps overemphasizes the Neoplatonic element in Dame Julian, making her more of a philosopher than she was. Dom David Knowles, *The English Mystical Tradition* (New York: Harper, 1961), is an authority on the historical background which is clearly summed up in the Introduction, although in cursory fashion, without details and without an exposition of the ecclesiastical framework. He stresses the similarities among the mystics in his selections from them. Paul Renaudin, *Mystiques anglais* and *Quatre mystiques anglais* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1945), translates long excerpts into French with a commentary which summarizes Dame Julian's teaching. Martin Thornton, *English Spirituality: An Outline of Ascetical Theology according to the English Pastoral Tradition* (London: SPCK, 1963), has a more pastoral than scholarly purpose, but is soundly based and illustrated in the aspects which pertain to this thesis, emphasizing especially the Benedictine influence in England and the development of a characteristic English school synthesizing

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the elements of devotion and speculation. E. L. Watkin, "Dame Julian of Norwich," *The English Way: Studies in English Sanctity from St. Bede to Newman*, ed. by Maisie Ward (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1934), also summarizes Dame Julian's teaching. Less important than these studies are Albert Edward Baker, *Prophets for a Day of Judgment* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1944), P. Franklin Chambers, *Juliana of Norwich: An Introductory Appreciation and an Interpretative Anthology* (London: Gollancz, 1955), John Lawlor, "A Note on the Revelations of Julian of Norwich," *Review of English Studies*, New Series II (1951), 255-58, and R. M. Wilson, "Three Middle English Mystics," *English Association Essays and Studies*, New Series IX (1956), 87-113. Valuable as some of the above works are, especially those of Molinari, Colledge and Thornton, none of the summaries can replace a reading of the book itself, not only for a full appreciation of the teaching of Dame Julian, but for the savor of the aura of joyful trust in which she develops that teaching.

While previous studies have focused on Dame Julian's prose or the form of her spirituality, the present study examines the content of her spirituality. The most notable and significant theological study of Dame Julian is that by Father Molinari, but even he has not exhausted the possible riches of *The Revelations of Divine Love*. The present study does not concentrate, as does Father Molinari's book, on Dame Julian's theology of prayer, what we may call the

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form of her spirituality. Rather, this thesis examines the content of her spirituality, that is, to be more specific, her image of Jesus Christ. This thesis is the first comprehensive study of Dame Julian's image of Jesus Christ in terms of the historical milieu in which she was writing.

The first step in this thesis is the examination of that milieu in order to establish familiarity with the ecclesiastical framework in which Dame Julian lived, and to which she consciously adverts so often, the influence of which permeates the very roots of her experience. Next we must examine the particular position which Dame Julian occupied in that framework and her general attitude toward religious experience, in other words, what do we know of her external and internal or spiritual biography. Then we can proceed to the distinct imagery which she uses to communicate her own vision of Christ, the Crucified, the Mother, the Way into the Trinity, the Lord of our souls. In discussing this imagery and showing what it meant to a fourteenth century English woman, we shall use sermons and poetry, religious and theological treatises, painting and the different forms of sculpture. Having analyzed the particular images, we shall ask whether there is any one conclusive theme which dominates, one image which subsumes and sums up the rest, synthesizing the diverse elements we have isolated.

CHAPTER II

RELIGION IN FOURTEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND

In England the fourteenth century is one of the great ages of religious devotional literature, perhaps comparable only to the "Golden Age of Anglicanism," the seventeenth century. As a religious phenomenon, this flowering of devotion cannot be reduced to non-religious factors, but as an historical phenomenon, it must be situated in the context of a concrete time and place. Moreover, and most importantly, the very mode of religious experience as well as the manner of expressing that experience, is conditioned by the milieu in which that experience takes place. Man's image of himself is reflected in his image of his God; his faith in his savior is given specific content by his perception of what imperils himself. Soteriology reflects anthropology; the religious devotion of any age and people reflects a specific understanding of man's place in the universe. But that understanding does not necessarily wear a metaphysical form. It may appear simply as an assumption or set of assumptions about the structure of life, assumptions which are shaped by daily observation and experience. To understand these primary assumptions, then, one must know something of the concrete circumstances which shaped them, must, to be brief, know history. For this reason, a discussion of the religious experience of a medieval English anchoress can profitably begin with a description of life in medieval England.

Julian of Norwich was born in 1342 and died after 1416, she received a series of revelations in 1373 and described them in 1393.[1] Thus, the period which is of particular interest for this paper is the second half of the fourteenth century, years which fall within the period traditionally referred to as "late medieval." Edward III ascended the throne of England in 1327 to rule for fifty years. His grandson Richard who succeeded him in 1377 was deposed in 1399 by his cousin Henry of Lancaster. Richard II's deposition in the last year of the century looks like a neat terminal point for an age, but in fact, it was decisive neither for religious nor for ecclesiastical history, nor for cultural, socio-economic, nor political history. Chronologically we must reach back before 1342 and range forward into the early decades of the fifteenth century in order to describe the milieu in which the Lady Julian lived and wrote.

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[1] Revelations, p. xix. Dame Julian says that she received the revelations in 1373 when she was thirty and a half years old (pp. 3 and 5). Later she says that she was given understanding of what she had seen over a period of twenty years (p. 110). The scribe who recorded the shorter version of the book in a collection of English religious writings, now British Museum Add. Ms. 37790, referred to Dame Julian as "yet alive" in 1413. James Walsh cites a will recorded in Archbishop Chichele's Register for 1416 in which Dame Julian is mentioned (The Revelations of Divine Love of Julian of Norwich, ed. by James Walsh [New York: Harper and Brothers, 1961], p. 2).

The later Middle Ages have been described as a decline from an earlier high Middle Ages, and, with all the advantages of hindsight, as the night before the dawn of Renaissance and Reformation. Emphasizing the turbulence of the age, historians have sometimes diagnosed the violence as the death throes of an era. One of the most famous proponents of this view is Johan Huizinga, the English title of whose book The Waning of the Middle Ages[2] sums up this approach. The evaluation of the period is far beyond the scope of this paper, but certainly it was a restless age, even a violent age. Politically, it was a time of war abroad and unrest at home; socially, a time of plague and of rebellion; ecclesiastically, a time of schism; religiously, a time of dissent.[3] And these phrases do not touch on all of the forces of change and disruption at work, especially in the socio-economic sphere. Nevertheless,

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[2] Johan Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages: A Study of the Forms of Life, Thought and Art in France and the Netherlands in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries (London:St. Martin's Press, 1948).

[3] The Hundred Years War began in 1337. Richard II fought with the lords in 1388 and again in 1397; he was forcibly deposed in 1399 by Henry IV, son of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster. The Black Death reached England in 1348, and severe outbreaks of the Plague recurred in 1361, 1369-70, 1391. The Peasant Rebellion swept the kingdom in 1381. The Avignon Papacy of 1309-1377 was followed by the Great Western Schism, 1378-1417. John Wycliffe became prominent in 1376 and lived until 1384. Lollard preaching continued in the fifteenth century despite the statute De Haeretico Comburendo of 1401.

"change was slow and hard to see."[4] Dame Julian may look to us like an example of the "new" lay Catholic, she saw herself as a follower of the traditional Catholic way: "And now I yield me to my Mother, Holy Church, as a simple child oweth."[5]

It was as a daughter of the Church that Dame Julian lived, and her vision of Christ was conditioned by that Church as truly as it was "received from God." If an understanding of Julian of Norwich requires an understanding of her religious milieu, an understanding of that milieu demands a knowledge of the Church in fourteenth century England. One of the two basic assumptions which Dame Julian makes, in common with virtually all of her contemporaries, is that the Church is the Christian's normal environment. We shall examine her attitude toward the religious authority of the Church more closely in the next chapter, but now we shall, without multiplying as we could examples of her affirmation of the Church, examine the nature and status of that Church which Dame Julian knew, Religion was not, in the fourteenth century, the private matter it was to become four or five centuries later. The matrix of religious devotion and life remained the Church, and the Church as something more than one institution among many. In 1281 Alexander of Roes had written:

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[4] A. R. Myers, England in the Late Middle Ages (8th ed.; "The Pelican History of England"; Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1971), p. 11.

[5] Revelations, p. 98.

> By these three, namely the priesthood, the empire and the university, the holy Catholic church is spiritually sustained, increased and ruled as by three virtues.[6]

That is to say that the three areas of religious, political and intellectual concern are all ordered to and structured by the Church. "Church" here is, thus, more than an institution concerned with one sphere of life; the Church which Alexander refers to is in fact Christendom, Western Europe with its common spiritual tradition and values. One aspect of that Church was its control of the religious devotions of the people, but this was not its only role. From at least the time of the Hildebrandine reforms, the liberty of the Church, that is, its political position, had been considered a legitimate and necessary, even the most fundamentally necessary, sphere of ecclesiastical concern, had been considered an area of religious importance. Right order in the world meant all the three powers, sacerdotium, imperium and universitas working together for the good of the Church. These three powers did not control separate spheres of men's lives in the modern sense of separation of spheres. They were authorities within the institution of Christendom, not separate institutions.[7] Christendom,

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[6] Alexander of Roes, De Translatione imperii, quoted in Gordon Leff, Paris and Oxford Universities in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: An Institutional and Intellectual History ("New Dimensions in History: Essays in Comparative History"; New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1968), p. 3.

[7] It is better to refer to King and Pope rather than to State and Church when discussing the relationships between

"the holy Catholic church" was the structure within which all life went on. Neither the _imperium_ nor the _sacerdotium_ was a monolithic power at this period, but a complex tissue of relationships with many interweavings between the two networks. In describing the Church in fourteenth century England, then, we must examine the relationships and interrelationships of the English hierarchy, the King and the Pope. We can then go on to examine the impact of the hierarchy on the religious life of the people. Finally we can examine that religious life itself, but that life did not exist in a vacuum and cannot be understood without some knowledge of the structures of the Church in which it developed.

Although thoroughly and consciously English,

> the fourteenth century English church was very consciously part of the universal church, in ecclesiastical government and in its intellectual and spiritual life.[8]

This being part of an international church was not just a theoretical allegiance. There was the tangible tissue of

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these two powers. Similarly _universitas_ refers to the sphere of intellectual influence rather than to the academic power wielded by any university, even Paris.

[8] W. A. Pantin, _The English Church in the Fourteenth Century_ (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1962), p. 5. The English archbishops and bishops received the _pallium_ from Rome and swore to be

> "from henceforward faithful and obedient to the blessed Peter and the holy apostolic Roman Church and to my lord the present Pope and his successors that enter that office canonically."

(E. F. Jacob, _The Fifteenth Century: 1399-1485_, Vol. VI of _The Oxford History of England_, ed. by Sir George Clark [14 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936-62], p. 266).

relationships which bound the ecclesia anglicana to the ecclesia universalis. Churchmen served the King as royal ministers and clerks; servants of the King and nobility as well as university men held church benefices as payment for their services. Benefices were increasingly regarded as property by King and Pope. When the Holy See used English benefices to reward its officials, the King and Court did not dispute the principle of so using church benefices. On the contrary, they were eager to extend their own ability to so reward their own servants. Medieval men believed that both King and Pope should "live of their own," and would not pay regular taxes to support the administration of government, thus forcing the use of ecclesiastical endowments to provide that support.[9] It should be said at

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[9] Pantin, p. 42. In 1225 and at the Council of Vienne in 1311, schemes of direct taxation to support the Curia were suggested unsuccessfully (ibid., note 1). The principle of deriving a minister's income from the profits of some other office can be seen at work in England at least as late as the seventeenth century.

The case of John Stratford throws an interesting light on the position of ecclesiastics and so of the Church in fourteenth century England. "Ministers of State" were, of course, clerics. In 1341, Edward III dismissed his chancellor, Robert Stratford, bishop of Chichester and brother of John, archbishop of Canterbury, and the royal treasurer, Roger Northburgh, bishop of Lichfield, in a dispute over the collection of money for the war. The King swore that he would never again appoint clerics to great offices of state, but only laymen whom he could execute for treason. He named Sir Robert Bourchier chancellor and Sir Robert Parving treasurer. The real target of the royal anger was John Stratford, whom Edward considered the leader of opposition to his policies. Edward asked the Pope to remove Stratford from England. Stratford replied that the clergy were "the fathers and masters of kings." When Parliament assembled, the archbishop won the lords to his side by demanding to be tried by them as once that by Edward III's reign the major issue was not the giving of benefices to foreigners,[10] but simply the Pope's use of English benefices to reward his servants, even if those servants were English. This issue of patronage will serve as the model by which we shall examine the relationship of King, Pope and hierarchy in England.

From 1309 until 1377, the popes resided at Avignon. The most significant ramification of the Avignon papacy was that for the first time since the Gregorian reform had made centralization a tool of papal policy, conditions overwhelmingly favored administrative and legal centralization, a centralization which greatly increased the need of the papacy to exploit the financial resources of the Church.[11] The "Avignon popes" highly developed and

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his peers, and by claiming that the policy of the realm was binding on ministers only when it had been arrived at by the King in council and authorized by Parliament. Edward was forced to yield and to accept Parliamentary control over his accounts and the appointment of his ministers. Soon after, he repudiated the Parliamentary statutes and reverted to appointing clerics as his chief ministers, paying them in the usual fashion from church benefices. (Gaillard Lapsley, *Crown, Community and Parliament in the Later Middle Ages: Studies in English Constitutional History*, ed. by H. M. Cam and G. Barraclough ["Studies in Medieval History"; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1951], pp. 234-53). The stance assumed by Stratford contrasts with that of Anselm or Becket. While Stratford acted partly as a churchman, his real importance and the burden of his appeal was as a peer of the realm, not as a champion of religious liberty.

[10] Pantin, pp. 54-63.

[11] Philip Hughes, S.J., *A History of the Church* (3 vols.; New York: Sheed and Ward, 1934-1947), III, 156. Father Hughes describes the different fees collected by the papacy (pp. 162-66).

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extended the practice of reserving to the Holy See the right to present to benefices.[12] The English monarchy was also committed to a policy of centralization, and it is no accident that the "period of crisis and struggle," in Professor Pantin's phrase, between King and Pope coincided with the "most vigorous period of Edward III's reign," roughly from 1342 until 1360.[13] Although anti-papalism was strong in England in the seventies, from 1372 until 1399, England and the papacy both sought a concordat.[14]

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[12] Geoffrey Barraclough, Papal Provisions (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935), discusses the origin and theory of papal provisions, maintaining that the impetus came from petitioners who sought papal help, and that the papacy did not originate the policy for its own financial or constitutional ends, especially in the formative period from Innocent II (1130-43) until Innocent IV (1243-54). However, by the fourteenth century the situation may be said to have changed, although Professor Barraclough thinks that it is not proven that the papacy deliberately used the machinery of provisions to consolidate papal power (pp. 176-77).

[13] Pantin, p. 81. See further pp. 81-87. The war with France complicated Anglo-Papal relations at this time, see *infra*.

[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 87-93. T. Rymer, Foedera (4 vols.; London: Record Edition, 1816-19, 1833), III, 1037, Gregory XI's very conciliatory message to Edward III on Sept. 1, 1375. *Ibid.*, p. 1072, the treaty arranged between the Pope and the King in February 1377; Edward died before this concordat took effect, and Gregory died before a new agreement could be made with Richard II. (Rymer's Foedera will be cited as Rymer when reference is made to the Record Series edition. The form Rymer (O) will refer to the original edition (20 vols.; London, 1704-35).

Parliamentary protests might move the King to act more vigorously, or at least to speak more vehemently than he might have done on his own (Pantin, pp. 66-68. May McKisack, The Fourteenth Century: 1307-99, Vol. V of The Oxford History of England, ed. by Sir George Clark [14 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936-62], p. 273).

The protests of 1344 and 1348 in Parliament led

Opposition to papal claims of patronage cannot be read simply as evidence of anti-clericalism. Thomas Walsingham was a monk of St. Albans and a chronicler always ready to defend ecclesiastical interests. Here is his description of Clement VI (1342-52), who angered the English more than almost any other fourteenth century Pope:

> Iste Clemens vir insignis litteraturae fuit, sed prodigalitatis profusissimae; adeo ut dignitates

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eventually to the Statute of Provisors of 1351 and the Statute of Praemunire of 1353, neither of which did more than give legal authority for the practice already being followed. (E. B. Graves, "The Legal Significance of the Statute of Praemunire, 1353," *Anniversary Essays Presented by Students of C. H. Haskins* [New York: Books for Libraries Press, rep. 1967], pp. 57-80, cited by Pantin, p. 84). The Statute of Provisors assured the right of the King and other lords to present to benefices and the rights of the ordinary ecclesiastical patrons and electors. If a patron could not fill a vacancy, the King was to fill it. Papal bulls of provision were not to be introduced under pain of forfeiture and imprisonment. (J. J. Bagley and P. B. Rowley, *A Documentary History of England: 1066-1540* [Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1966], pp. 198-204). The Statute of Praemunire laid down penalties for appealing to a foreign court in matters in which the royal courts had cognizance, such as advowsons (*ibid*., pp. 204-206). The Statute of Provisors was renewed at Edward's request in 1365. (Pantin, p. 88). In 1390 this statute was renewed with stricter penalties, and in 1393 the Great Statute of Praemunire was made, increasing the penalties and extending them to anyone who introduced any papal bull of excommunication or translation into the realm. (Pantin, p. 92. Pantin refers the basis of these statutes to the feudal *Eigenkirche* and the principle that the advowson of a church is real property and so falls under the jurisdiction of the royal courts. See McKisack, p. 282).

The Great Statute of Praemunire of 1393 was used against Cardinal Beaufort in the fifteenth century and against Cardinal Wolsey in 1529, also against the English clergy in 1531. Elizabeth and James I also used it. A. G. Dickens points out that the looseness of the wording makes it possible to extend the Statute to a purpose for which it was not intended. (*The English Reformation* [New York: Shocken Books, 1964], p. 87).

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> ecclesiasticas, vacantes in Anglia, suis conferret Cardinalibus, novusque pro eis in Anglia titulos moliretur imponere; qua de causa Rex Angliae offensus, provisiones per Dominum Papam factas [cessavit]. Et ne quis deinceps tales provisiones afferret, sub poena carceris atque capitis interdixit.[15]

And later Walsingham refers to Edward's annulment of Clement's provision of two cardinals to English benefices as "illam famosam Epistolam pro libertate Ecclesiae Anglicanae."[16] While lay sentiment was generally opposed to papal provisions, clerical reaction was more complicated. Opposed to any infringement of Church liberty by the Crown, the clergy yet resented papal infringement of their own rights, as papal provisions in England were virtually always at the expense of ecclesiastical patrons or electors. Moreover, bishops, abbots and other ecclesiastics often owed part of their benefices to the Pope and part to the King.[17] Especially before the Lollard attacks of the next century, criticism of the Pope and clergy was freely voiced from within the ranks of the Church. The problem of papal provisions was not a lay vs. clergy matter.

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[15] Thomas Walsingham, Historia Anglicana: 1272-1422, ed. by H. T. Riley (2 vols.; London: Rolls Series, 1863-1864), I, 254. The description is in the entry for 1343. Pantin, pp. 71-73, quotes other chroniclers in this vein. And see, for example, Ralph Rigden, Polychronicon, ed. by C. Babington and J. R. Lumby (9 vols.; London: Rolls Series, 1865-1886), VIII, 338, and Trevisa's translation of 1386, ibid., p. 339. The Polychronicon was perhaps the most popular history.

[16] Walsingham, p. 255.

[17] Pantin, p. 69. Dr. Pantin quotes a letter from Bishop Grandisson of Exeter to Clement VI, 1342, in which the Bishop relates the criticisms made of papal reservations at the October Convocation of the Canterbury province (Ibid., p. 70 and see note 1 there for another example).

The arrangement of the rights of patronage and of the financial exploitation of the English church "owed," says one historian, "almost everything to political and diplomatic, and very little to moral or religious considerations."[18] The moral or religious benefit which would result from the appointment of a given candidate to a certain benefice was not, perhaps, a major consideration in the exercise of patronage. But, as Professor Pantin points out, the conflict of King and Pope was a conflict of legal claims, the defense of which entailed to the medieval mind "one of the highest and noblest duties that a man could suffer for."[19] Edward III's position does not indicate a lack of religious devotion nor anti-papalism, nor a "lay temper." He was fulfilling his coronation oath by upholding the rights of the Crown, and, in protecting his rights of patronage, he was fulfilling the duty of a Christian prince to be a "good lord" to his followers.[20] The Pope was not simply being greedy in insisting on his right to provide to benefices. He was upholding the rights of the Holy See and he was protecting his dependents. Insofar as the King and the Pope were both morally bound to uphold the legal rights of their offices, moral considerations did play a part in the settlement of claims. Religious considerations played a part insofar as both King and Pope believed in and upheld a certain world order so that all three powers functioned in balance to uphold "the Church." Moreover, we must insist on the point that the political power of the Church was an essential element in its necessary spiritual liberty. It is most important to refrain from anachronism on this point. Nonetheless, the conflict between King and Pope was not waged as an heroic war. It was a quarrel over patronage carried on in a series of maneuvers marked by bickering and ending in compromise.

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[18] McKisack, p. 272. [19] Pantin, p. 94.

[20] Ibid. Note that the recipients of both papal and royal patronage were clerics. Ecclesiastical benefices were not used by the King to further the laicizing of state offices, an obvious point, but sometimes slurred over.

The location of the Papacy at Avignon had not greatly affected Anglo-Papal relations except in terms of the extension of centralization during the first decades of the fourteenth century. What is now south-west France was then English territory, and Bertrand de Got, Clement V (1305-1314), who first established the Papacy at Avignon, was an English subject by birth.[21] The feeling that the Pope was a foreigner did not become a major issue in England until the Hundred Years War renewed a longstanding Anglo-French enmity, when the location of the Papacy at Avignon did exacerbate Anglo-Papal tensions. While the centralizing policies of the Pope were the most important cause of conflict, it remains true that the Papacy did lose something of its international prestige. What galled the English was not that the Papacy was not in Rome, but that it was in France and the Pope French. The "period of crisis" opened with the pontificate of Clement VI (1342-1352) a pope who was not only a great prince in ambition but also "thoroughly French in his sympathies."[22] In the popular mind, papal efforts at mediation were associated with intervention in favor of France. The chronicler Henry Knighton records the following verse which was written up in different towns in France after the victories of Crecy (1346) and Poitiers (1356):

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[21] Ibid., pp. 76-77. Clement VI bought Avignon from Joanna of Naples in 1348. (F. L. Cross, ed., Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church [London: Oxford University Press, 1966], p. 115).

> Ore est le Pape devenu Franceys,
> e Jesu devenu Engleys.
> Ore serra veou qe fra plu,
> ly Pape ou Jesus.[23]

The court and aristocracy might retain a certain international flavor, especially under Richard II, but Englishmen were becoming more and more conscious of the importance of being English.

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[22] Pantin, p. 81.

[23] Henry Knighton, Chronicon, ed. by J. R. Lumby (2 vols.; London: Rolls Series, 1888-89), II, 94. Pantin (p. 82) quotes this verse and adds that the chauvinism in it is almost matched by the Wilton Diptych (c. 1395) in which angels wear Richard II's badge.

Among other comments which Knighton makes on the partiality of the pope for the French, see his entry for 1343 (p. 29), and his description of Innocent VI (1352-62) in 1352 as "multum favorabilis regi Franciae" (p. 78). In 1357 Knighton voices the common belief that papal money collected in England is given to France (p. 98). Walsingham ascribes the English victory at Sluys to "divine favor," and criticizes the placing of Flanders under interdict for rebellion against "Philip of Valois" (p. 227, for 1340).

On May 20, 1343, Edward III empowered a delegation to meet a French embassy before the Pope who would sit as a private person and mediator, not as a judge, in the English view (Rymer, II, 1224).

One of the links which bound England to the international Church was the system of monastic organization by which daughter houses remained dependent upon their mother house. Monastic patronage was less important to both Pope and Crown than other forms of patronage, but the system of dependencies was important in England. The most important group of these "alien priories" in England was that which depended on Cluny, although the degree of control exercised over the English houses by the foreign was not great in the fourteenth century. Edward I and Edward II had moved against the alien priories, and Edward III followed their lead in a policy which continued under Richard II. When the King took an alien priory into his custody, a custos was appointed to prevent spying by the monks and to oversee affairs. After the needs of the monks were provided for, the revenue of the house went into the royal exchequer. In fact, however, most of the monasteries in question obtained a charter of denization, severing their allegiance to their motherhouse. There was no general conversion of religious property to secular usage, although Professor Pantin calls the royal custody of the alien priories a "windfall" for the King,[24] who, of course, also profited by the granting of denization.

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[24] Pantin, p. 31. In 1408 revenues from these priories were part of the income Henry IV assigned for his household expenses for two years (Rymer (O), VIII, 510). David Knowles, O.S.B., The Religious Orders in England

To a church historian the most important event of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries is the Great Western Schism, but in the England of the period this was less important as an issue affecting the constitution of the Church, than as a factor in the relationship between the English and the Pope, a relationship important because of its effect on the working of the Church in England. Tension between England and the Pope eased during the Great Schism (1378-1417). The election of an Italian, Bartolomeo Prignano, as Urban VI (April 1378) had been considered a hopeful sign, and English adherence to the Urbanist line after the election of Robert of Geneva as Clement VII (September 1378-1394) was to some degree spontaneous.[25] On October 18, 1378, Parliament, sitting at

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(3 vols.; Cambridge: University Press, 1950-1959), II, 157-66, takes the position that property was not widely used for secular purposes. See McKisack, pp. 293-95. Rymer, II, 1236, for October, 1343. Rymer (O), VII, 686, for November, 1390.

The policy toward alien priories included the confiscation of English benefices held by Frenchmen. For example, in July, 1341, Edward ordered his officers in Gascony to recompense Bertrand Ferandi for benefices lost in France, and to seize the property of ecclesiastics who adhered to France. Rymer, II, 1170. Also see *ibid*., III, 334, for 1343.

[25] Edouard Perroy, *L'Angleterre et le grand schisme d'occident*, 1378-1399 (Paris: J. Monnier, 1933), p. 23. M. Perroy gives Charles Maramauro, Urban's ambassador to Richard, and the papal collector as the Roman delegation at Parliament, explaining that Urban would not have had time to appoint a special embassy. The cardinals sent as envoys to speak against Urban Roger Foucault, dean of St. Emilion and formerly among the retainers of Richard's father Edward, the Black Prince, with Jean Forton and

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Gloucester, officially declared for Urban. The seriousness of the situation was certainly not realized in England in 1378, and what seemed the more important ecclesiastical matter discussed at Gloucester was the issue of a violation of the sanctuary of Westminster Abbey.[26] The question of the Schism was raised in the last meetings of the Parliament. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Simon Sudbury, addressed the commons and nobles on the theme "Unus erit pastor nobis," declaring that while the cardinals may have perjured themselves in falsely swearing to hold a free

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Christopher Borgeys, Bordelaise merchants and subjects of the English Crown. Foucault brought the bulls which the cardinals had prepared against Urban, but was arrested when he tried to publish them in London (Perroy, pp. 56-57). M. Perroy goes on to say, "Un nationalisme étroit avait d'avance jugé les cardinaux" (p. 54). M. Perroy's book is a classic, but not entirely without prejudice. See also, however, Walsingham's account of the cardinals' behavior (I, 381-82 and 369).

[26] Walsingham I, 381-82. Perroy, p. 54 and note 4. Not all of the English chroniclers even mentioned the Schism in their entries for 1378.

The issue of sanctuary was raised by the case of one Hawley, who had escaped from the Tower and taken sanctuary in the Abbey. He was killed there and a sacristan mortally wounded by officers from the Tower. Archbishop Sudbury pronounced the Greater Excommunication against all concerned, including John of Gaunt, Richard's uncle, and closed the Abbey. William Courtenay, Bishop of London, pronounced the excommunication three times a week despite the royal prohibition. At Gloucester John Wycliffe was one of the spokesmen for the King. The Parliament curtailed the right of sanctuary for felony, but the right of sanctuary for crime was not abolished in England until 1623, for civil matters not until 1723. (B. Manning, "England: Edward III and Richard II," *Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. VII: *Decline of Empire and Papacy*, ed. by J. H. Tanner *et al*. [Cambridge: University Press, 1932], 459-60. Cross, p. 1213, Walsingham, I, 376-79).

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election, the validity of the election was not therefore in doubt, and Cardinal Prignano was worthy of the papal honor. The decision for Urban was immediate and unanimous, and Richard was given power to deal with the Schismatics. No one of the Avignon obedience could hold an English benefice, which would be forfeit to the English Crown. Anyone favoring or negotiating with the anti-pope was to be treated as a traitor.[27]

The conditions which had facilitated centralization and papal control of the Church from 1309 until 1377 were no longer present. Faced with schism, Urban (and his successors) could not be too stern in enforcing his prerogative in England.[28] If the Schism threw the Pope on the goodwill of his allies, however, civil strife in England made both the King and his enemies at home eager for papal support. To that extent, the political problems of the unhappy Richard II bear directly on the position of the Church in England. Moreover, the popular English view of the Schism identified the papal quarrel with the French war, to Urban's benefit. In the spring of 1379, the Archbishop of Cashel, preaching the indulgence which Urban had proclaimed for those who fought against the Clementists, emphasized that the main support of Clement VII was the French King, and the enemies of England were the enemies of Urban.[29]

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[27] Perroy, pp. 56-57. The Great Schism "boulversa profondément toute la vie monastique de l'Angleterre, que la guerre avec la France avait déjà forcement troublée" (Perroy, p. 95). See R. Graham, "The Great Schism and the English Monasteries of the Cistercian Order," English Historical Review, XLIV (1929), 373-87. R. Graham, "The Papal Schism of 1378 and the English Province of the Order of Cluny," English Historical Review, XXXVIII (1923), 481-95. The mendicant orders were much less affected by the Schism than were the monastic orders because they generally adhered to the Urbanist cause. (Perroy, pp. 80-95. Knowles, II, 167-70). Thus, the Schism contributed to the loss of monastic influence in comparison to the influence of the friars.

[28] In May of 1378, Urban had sent Richard a bull inviting him to nominate to the first two vacant canonicats in each cathedral in England, Ireland, and Wales, an offer similar to that made in France and Brittany. Thus, even before the cardinals' defection, Urban showed every intention of entering into a happy relationship with England (Perroy), p. 53). The Roman willingness to translate English bishops first at the behest of the Lords Appellant (1388) and then at Richard's insistence (1397-98), shows an awareness of needing English support. However, Pope and ruler had usually managed successful compromises of mutual

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benefit. Even the notorious Clement VI had known when it was best to yield to the royal will, saying once that if the King of England wished an ass made bishop, he would do it (cited by Pantin, p. 13). Rome did not hasten to conclude the Concordat which England had long sought. Agreement was not reached on the question of papal provisions until 1398, and then Richard's deposition intervened before the Concordat became effective (Pantin, pp. 88-93. Perroy, pp. 45-46, 349). Urban did make Adam Easton, originally a monk of Norwich, Cardinal of England in 1381, but imprisoned him in 1385. The Cardinal was not released until 1389, by Boniface IX (Pantin, p. 177). Adam Easton was the author of an account of Urban VI's election (L. Macfarlane, "An English Account of the Election of Urban VI, 1378," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, XXVI (1953), 75-85.

[29] Perroy, p. 63. The most famous crusade against the Clementists was led by Henry Despencer, Bishop of Norwich, in 1383. This became a war in Flanders waged against Urbanists who were inimical to English economic interests (Perroy, pp. 166-205, McKisack, pp. 429-33. Sir John Froissart, *The Chronicles of England, France and Spain*, trans. by Thos. Johnes, abridged by H. P. Dunster [New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1961], pp. 259-69. Adam of Usk, *Chronicon Adae de Usk, 1377-1421*, ed. and trans. by E. M. Thompson [London: Royal Society of Literature, 1904], pp. 6 and 42. John Capgrave, *Liber de Illustribus Henricis*, ed. by F. C. Hingeston [London: Rolls Edition, 1858], pp. 170-74. *Polychronicon*, IX, 16-23).

That Rome welcomed the identification of her

The English case for Urban always rested chiefly on the fact that he was the first candidate elected by the cardinals. Even if the form of the election was imperfect, they maintained, the cardinals' revolt was unjustified, and responsibility for the Schism rested with the French who led the College of Cardinals.[30]

In 1392 Clement sent an envoy to John of Gaunt who told the French Pope that the English could never turn from Rome to Avignon, that at the most they might accept a third candidate, but that Church unity could not be discussed until peace had been made between England and France.[31] The peace made at Leulighen in 1396, between England and France, did not settle any religious questions.[32] Richard was sympathetic to French proposals for unity in the Church, but even he put the interests of England first, preferring to adhere to Boniface IX (1389-1404) in order to secure

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interests with those of England can be seen in Boniface IX's efforts in 1396 to prevent Richard's peace with France (Perroy, p. 357). Clement VI's successor Benedict XIII (Pedro de Luna, 1394-1417), also feared peace and worked equally hard to prevent a French-English truce (*ibid*., pp. 358-59).

Note that during the Council of Constance, England was quite firmly in the ascendancy over France, a situation confirmed in the Treaty of Troyes, 1420.

[30] Perroy, pp. 67-68.

[31] *Ibid*., p. 358. John of Gaunt, of course, was Duke of Lancaster, Richard II's uncle and Henry IV's father. At this time he was Richard's staunch supporter.

[32] *Ibid*., p. 355. The treaty was to ensure twenty-seven years of peace, leaving the Lancastrian Henry V to resume the war in 1415.

the transference of those bishops who had aided the Lords Appellant, and in order to secure a favorable arrangement of English church patronage.[33] Except for Richard, the English refused to consider mutual concession by the two popes--the via cessionis--as a solution, and continued to await the return of the Schismatics to the true obedience.[34]

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[33] Richard was probably persuaded to the French view of the necessity of re-unifying the Church by the hermit Robert le Mennot, whom Charles VI sent to England in 1392 (ibid., pp. 359, 364-65, 384). Richard agreed with Charles to accept the solution by cession, 5 November 1397, but this remained no more than a personal agreement between the two Kings. Robert le Mennot was a member of the French Order of the Passion, a Crusading Order whose patrons included John of Gaunt, as well as the Duke of Gloucester and the Earl of Huntingdon, and whose members included the Duke of York, and the Earl of Rutland, two of the Despencers, the Bishop of St. David's and other English lords (Maude V. Clarke, "The Wilton Diptych," Fourteenth Century Studies, ed. by L. S. Sutherland and May McKisack [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937], p. 288).

[34] Nicholas Falrenham, the Provincial of the English Franciscans, called in November 1395 for the secular arm to depose the anti-pope (Perroy, p. 368, also pp. 373-75). Oxford University proposed in March 1396 that France should acknowledge Rome, and that a Council then be called to stamp out error and thus re-establish unity. This idea was repeated in 1399 in a letter from Oxford to Richard (ibid., pp. 368-70). The King had had to prod the University into receiving a delegation from Paris. The Parisians did engage Oxford in a discussion of Church unity, but the English university did not produce the type of solution which Paris was to suggest. The English view of the role of the Council was much less radical. In 1408 the English university did join Paris and Bologna in advising that a council be called to settle the Schism, and the English withdrew their obedience from Rome following the French withdrawal from Avignon (L. Salembier, The Great Schism of the West [London: Kegan Paul Trench Trubner, 1907], p. 235). London recognized the Pisan line of popes. England participated in the Council of Constance. It was, in fact, the Bishop of Winchester who suggested to the Fathers of the Council that they proceed to the election of a pope who should be sworn to carry out their reforms (Cross, p. 333).

England's role in the solution of the Schism never matched the theoretical insights of France nor the practical initiative of the Empire. The English concentrated their efforts on finding a modus vivendi with the Roman popes whose legitimacy they accepted under Richard II and his Lancastrian successors. Throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, England accepted a papal organization of the Church. The Schism seems to have affected the English view of the consitution of the Church and of the role of the papacy less than was the case in France, Germany and Bohemia. M. Perroy remarks that John Wycliffe, who at first wrote warmly to Urban expressing hope that the Italian would undo the evils which the French popes had wrought, was not interested in the validity of the election but in the goodness of the Pope.[35] That remark might be paraphrased to state that the English were not interested in the validity of the Roman claim nor in the theory of ecclesiastical structure but in the position of England vis-à-vis the papacy, a position expressed in the relationship of the English hierarchy to the Pope and the King.[36]

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[35] Perroy, pp. 65-67.

[36] Dame Julian does not discuss the Schism. Neither William Langland nor Geoffrey Chaucer aim their criticism or satire of the Church at the specific problem of the Schism. Langland calls the Church "that house Unity," but the context is moral not ecclesiological, and the phrase occurs in the B version of the poem, probably written about 1376. (William Langland, Pierce Plowman's Crede, ed. by W. W. Skeat [London: Early English Text Society, Original

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The most serious problem which faced the contemporary English Church, the problem which dominated the attention of the English hierarchy was not Church unity but ecclesiastical patronage, because this was the question which governed the relations of "upper" and "lower" clergy and of clergy and laity, the issue which determined the working of the English Church.

> The net result of patronage, pluralism and the general exploitation of benefices for the higher purposes of Church and State was that the working clergy were poorly paid.[37]

The condition of the "working clergy," that is, those engaged in the daily cure of souls, was what most affected the religious situation in England, as distinct from the ecclesiastical situation. If the most profitable benefices went to those who served King and Court and Pope, those who did the pastoral work of the Church had to live on lesser benefices, or, unbeneficed, on salaries. The "working clergy" might be resident rectors or unbeneficed clergy who served as vicars or as assistants to parish priests or as chaplains.[38] The unbeneficed clergy were often as

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Series XXX (1867)], Passus XIX, line 325. William Langland, Piers the Plowman, trans. by M. Williams, R.S.C.J. [New York: Random House, 1971], "Introduction," p. 62).

[37] Pantin, p. 98.

[38] Rectors were those who owned the tithes of a parish. In some cases, they were priests who resided in the parish; in other cases, they were non-resident clerics; in still other cases, the tithes were appropriated to a monastery which then established a vicar to undertake the cure of souls. Where a vicar was provided, the "small tithes" (*i.e.*, the tithes of minor produce), as well as

restless as the landless laborer, especially after the Black Death and the following plagues, with the resultant labor shortage.[39] While the bishops were responsible for

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certain rights in the church and church properties were set aside for him, the "great tithes" (*i.e.*, the tithes of major crops), being reserved for the rector. When the rector was a non-resident priest, he might establish a vicar, or he might simply hire an assistant to serve in his parish. If the parish were large, the rector or the vicar might hire an unbeneficed clerk to help him. The chaplains of nobles might be salaried or hold a benefice. Chaplains were often hired by a guild or a family as chantry priests to say Masses for the dead (A. H. Thompson, *The English Clergy and Their Organization in the Later Middle Ages* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1947], pp. 101-31. E. L. Cutts, *Parish Priests and Their People in the Later Middle Ages in England* [London: SPCK, 1898], pp. 96-109, 124. Pantin, pp. 27-29. Cross, pp. 1261-62). For a brief summary of the diocesan and parish organization of medieval England, see McKisack, pp. 300-304.

Pantin (pp. 27-29, 36-41) shows that the non-resident and pluralist groups of clergy do not correspond to the group of important Church and State servants among the clergy. A relatively humble clergyman might hold several small benefices, or he might be non-resident in his rectory. This is especially true in the case of those studying at University. Wycliffe, for example, held three parish rectories in succession from 1361 until his forced retirement from Oxford in 1382, but never resided in his parish before that retirement. Besides Pantin, see also McKisack, pp. 279-80. E. F. Jacob, "On the Promotion of English University Clerks during the Later Middle Ages," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, I (1950), 172-86; and A. H. Thompson, "Pluralism in the Medieval Church," *Associated Architectural Societies' Reports*, XXXIII (1915), 35-73; XXXIV (1916), 1-26; XXXV (1919-1920), 87-108, 199-242; XXXVI (1921), 1-41, cited in McKisack, p. 280, note 1.

[39] Katherine L. Wood-Leigh, *Studies in Church Life under Edward III* ("Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought," ed. by G. G. Coulton; Cambridge: University Press, 1934), p. 126. Edgar Powell, *The Rising in East Anglia in 1381* (Cambridge: University Press, 1896), p. 62. Mr. Powell is discussing the participation of unbeneficed clergy in the Peasants' rebellion. The peasants' anger was widely directed against ecclesiastical possessioners.

In 1349, from one-third to one-half of the clergy died of the plague, and subsequent epidemics took their toll. Many of those who died were regular clergy whose their diocesan clergy, the bishop was not primarily a pastor but an administrator.[40] While the episcopal duties were carried out by suffragans and assistants, the theological relation of the bishop to his diocese was seriously perverted. The diocese was nothing more than an administrative unit and was in no sense a community, a development also detrimental to the collegiality of the episcopacy.

There was no systematic education of the clergy, no equivalent of the Tridentine seminaries. It was not usual for the parish clergy to study at a university, nor for those who studied there to work in a parish.[41] Those clerics who did go to Oxford or Cambridge received little in the way of religious education. They often left with no degree or with a degree in arts which had no relation to their work in a parish except to ensure that they could

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communal style of living sped the spread of infection, but many were parish priests. The number of ordinands did not fall off in proportion to population (Cutts, pp. 143-45). However, the priests who survived the plague, as well as new priests might choose a town chantry rather than a village parish since the position of chantry priest was well-remunerated and not onerous. (Wood-Legh, pp. 89-126 and tables pp. 124-25. G. H. Cook, Medieval Chantries and Chantry Chapels [London: Phoenix House, 1947]). Note that chantries reached a peak before 1349; Miss Wood-Legh suggests that the shortage of priests may explain this (p. 126), but Cutts' figures suggest that this may not be the cause. Not only is it questionable that the percentage of priests decreased, but it also seems that priests sometimes preferred chantry employment. Obviously there was a real and practical danger of scandal in a system where priests literally made their livings saying Mass.

[40] Pantin, pp. 101-102. Jacob, pp. 272-74. Even the administrative duties of the diocese were usually carried out by subordinates.

[41] Pantin, p. 29.

read Latin.[42] The theology curriculum was strictly academic in its orientation, and the man who took a degree in theology usually had an eye on an academic career, just as the man who studied law had an eye on an administrative career.[43] Parish clergy might be more likely to benefit from study in cathedral schools. These schools reached their height in the thirteenth century, but they still provided at least occasional courses of lectures for the diocesan clergy in the fourteenth century,[44] although the impact of these lectures may have been limited and certainly was greater among town than among rural clergy. The monastic cathedrals provided lectures in theology and in canon law which were usually open to the secular clergy.[45] The friars educated their own members and often influenced the education of the secular clergy. While their activity centered in the universities, it was not exclusively located there.[46] It was far from rare, finally, for clerics to learn by living with older clergy.[47]

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[42] Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* (new edition, ed. by F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden; 3 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936), III, 449-51.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 450. The career of John Wycliffe is but one example of the fact that an academic career did not preclude activity in the political sphere.

[44] Pantin, pp. 110-16.

[45] *Ibid.*, pp. 117-19. At Norwich, for example, the monks were organized as preachers by their famous brother Adam Easton, who had been at Oxford but was called back to Norwich from 1357-63, for this purpose, the cathedral at Norwich being a Benedictine house, (*ibid.*, p. 175).

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 119. The Franciscans had an important school at Norwich.

Churchmen were certainly aware that the parish clergy must be sufficiently educated to fulfill their twofold office of administering the sacraments and instructing the people. The need was not for higher scholarship, but for an ability to teach the basic truths of religion and to inculcate the reverence due those truths.[48] Not only the Lateran Council of 1215, but also English synods of the thirteenth century insisted on the duty of the clergy to provide religious instruction for the laity.[49] The primary responsibility for preaching rested on those with the cure of souls.[50] Archbishop Arundel's "Preaching Constitutions" of 1408-1410, which forbade preaching without a license, excepted parish priests, who were reminded of their obligation to instruct their people.[51] A multitude of manuals and treatises in the vernacular were written to help the parish priest. This literature was an important tool in the education of the parish clergy,[52] and was as important in the formation of late medieval spirituality as were the devotional writings of the mystics. Perhaps the treatises prepared for the use of parish priests in preparing their sermons, together with sermon collections which were popular, and the sermons themselves were more characteristic of the "daily life" of the medieval Church than are the mystical writings. Despite the growth of literacy, many more people heard sermons than read books. The sermon was the common and leading form of instruction.[53] Closely related to the sermons were the vernacular treatises, used by the clergy, but designed for and popular with the laity, discussing and explaining religious and moral themes.[54]

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[47] *Ibid*., p. 29. Cutts, p. 111. Besides parish priests who had younger priests living with them, bishops often had the purpose of education in mind when forming their households.

[48] Jacob, *The Fifteenth Century*, pp. 280-81.

[49] Pantin, p. 189.

[50] G. R. Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England*: *An Introduction to Sermon Manuscripts of the Period c. 1350-1450* (New York: Russell and Russell, rep. 1965), p. 1.

[51] Cutts, p. 223. Owst, pp. 140-43. The Constitutions were prompted by the spread of Lollard teachings by the "Poor Priests" and other wandering clerics and laymen.

The secular clergy were not the only preachers. Their work was helped on by the monks and friars. By our time, the tradition of great monastic preachers was waning.[55] The friars were, of course, famous or notorious preachers.[56] The impact of the friars on medieval religion, indeed, can be traced first of all to their eloquence, and the friars were more than ready to fill the pulpit. Unlike the monks, the friars lived in the world. They took an active and vocal part in religious, social and political controversy. They made their sermons from the matter of everyday life which they had such an opportunity of observing. If the medieval English sermon was the major public use of the vernacular, and the pulpit the "parent of literary realism,"[57] the friars deserve much of the credit for expressing the international culture of Christendom in the concrete form which would attract the attention and devotion of an ordinary congregation.[58] Preaching became a profitable career, and learning, and even conviction yielded to stagecraft and emotional appeal. Indeed, the anecdotal, even racy nature of the friars' sermons was criticized not only by Wycliffe and the Lollards, but by one of the most distinguished of the friar preachers, the Dominican John Bromyard.[59] The friar was rarely an ignorant man, but neither the intellectual content nor the spiritual tone of his sermon was always high.

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[52] Pantin, p. 29. Mr. Pantin points out that in the thirteenth century bishops often sent their priests manuals and tracts, but that in the fourteenth century most of this literature was prepared and circulated independently of the bishops (ibid., p. 195).

[53] Professor Pantin calls the fourteenth century, "the classic age of preaching in medieval England, when sermons were abundant, vigorous and influential" (p. 236). He lists the most important manuals for parish priests, pp. 195-217. The classic examination of this literature is that of Dr. Owst, see pp. 222-308. Dr. Owst shows conclusively the important place of the sermon in later medieval religion. The similarity to the seventeenth century situation is notable.

[54] Pantin, p. 191. The most important of these treatises are described pp. 222-34.

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[55] Owst, pp. 48-55.

[56] *Ibid.*, pp. 55-95. Knowles, II, 151-53.

[57] G. R. Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England: A Neglected Chapter in the History of English Letters and of the English People* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, rev. and rep. 1966), p. 23.

[58] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

The friars prospered in medieval England. As mendicants they depended on alms, and those alms far surpassed what was needed for subsistence. Mendicancy, especially among the Franciscans, implied poverty, and the medieval English friars were not poor, so to the accusation of greed was added that of hypocrisy. Both Chaucer and Langland have left pictures of the greedy friar preying on those who would have the benefit of his prayers, but they are not the only painters of this portrait. An early fifteenth century song in the Goliardic meter sings of the friars' practice of offering a burial place to wealthy men who made gifts to their church.

> These little friars preachify, and swear, as
>   they will have it,
> If a fellow pass away in the Minors' habit,
> Of such a soul it can be said the devil shall
>   not grab it,
> But instantly the angels shall to heavenly
>   mansions drag it.
> So thus a rich man in town when taken very poorly,
> Will find a friar hurrying and worrying so sorely
> That he should be in time to see the patient
>   pass to glory,
> But not before he's left his corpse to the friars'
>   church most surely.[60]

In 1376, the friars' rights to bury the dead from other parishes in their churchyards was arranged in Norwich.[61] In 1392, King Richard ordered the Dominicans at Hereford to deliver the body of John de Hastynges, earl of Pembroke, to the earl marshall for burial at the Franciscans' house in London.[62] Examples of quarrels over burial rights could be given from all over the realm, in great quantity, involving all the orders of friars.

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[59] Owst, Preaching, pp. 82-88.

[60] Quoted and translated in F.R.H. Du Boulay, An Age of Ambition: English Society in the Late Middle Ages (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1970), p. 79. The Chaucerian parallel is the Summoner's Tale.

The desire of many wealthy burgesses and nobles to be buried in the friars' grounds, a desire fostered by the friars, is but one example of the position they had attained, a position which was increasingly the object of criticism by the laity and an annoyance to the secular and monastic clergy. Their position was, as Professor Knowles had said:

> delicate . . . both by reason of their habitual mingling with the people and by reason of their intrusion into the organization of the diocese and the parish.[63]

The friars were accused not only of greed and hypocrisy, but of worldliness, of being too cunning and too tolerant. Professor Owst has reproduced a sketch of "the preaching fox," a fox--symbol of cunning--in friar's habit, leaning from a pulpit, the original a wood-carving in Christchruch Priory, Hampshire.[64] In the *Grandes heures* of Jean, duc de Berry, a compendium of manuscript illumination fashioned in the few years before 1409, one of the drolleries which enliven the borders is a friar absolving a fox which still holds a fowl in its mouth.[65] Carvings in churches, especially on misericords, satirize the friars or the monks,[66] an indication, if one is needed, that criticism of the clergy was carried on very much within the ecclesiastical establishment, at least until the concerted Lollard attacks of the fifteenth century.

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[61] M. E. Simkins, "Ecclesiastical History," Victoria History of the County of Norfolk, ed. by A. Constable (2 vols.; Westminster: Victoria County Histories), II, 237. There were papal indulgences for burial in the Grey Friars' Pardon Cloister at St. Vedast and the Austin Friars' Scala Coeli in Norwich, among other (p. 236).

[62] Rymer (O), VII, 711.

[63] Knowles, II, 90. McKisack, pp. 309-10. The Franciscans were the most common target of hostility (Knowles, II, 91-95).

Monks, friars and seculars united in their criticism of what Dr. Owst calls the "Wandering Stars," unbeneficed clergy (like Chaucer's Pardoner), hermits, laymen even, who roamed the country preaching to whomever would hear them.[67] These itinerant preachers were not only competition for the diocesan and regular clergy, they also were potential agitators and heretics.[68] It is possible, too, that some of the criticism leveled at friars should have found its mark among these irregular wanderers.

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[64] Owst, *Preaching*, p. 86.

[65] *Les grandes heures of Jean Duke of Berry*, ed. by Marcel Thomas (Facsimile edition; George Braziller, 1971), Plate 66 (Penitential Psalms L and CI). The manuscript was probably commissioned in 1407 and was presented in 1409 (p. 7).

[66] Francis Bond, *Wood Carvings in English Churches* (2 vols.; London: Oxford University Press, 1910), I, 162-65, points out that religion is not satirized although preaching is. Mr. Bond feels that the presentation of the friars as foxes among geese and hares indicated their greed. Cunning greed was perhaps the most common satirical theme sounded.

[67] Owst, *Preaching*, pp. 96-143. J. J. Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages*, trans. by L. T.

If the friars were criticized as too worldly, the monks were sometimes neglected as too removed from the world. The monastery was still regarded as a haven, but monastic piety was often not attractive to or not suited to laymen whose lives differed so much from the orderly

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Smith (4th ed.; New York: Barnes and Noble, University Paperbacks, 1961), pp. 159-91.

M. Jusserand devotes a chapter to pilgrims, pp. 192-240. Pilgrims were common and contributed to the internationalism of Christian culture. They traveled not only to shrines and lands abroad, however, but to holy places within England (Rymer III, 439, 618, 179, 197, 717, 720, 721, 736, 754, 765, 781, 787, 839, 994, 1002, 1030, *et al*. for pilgrim licences).

[68] In April 1338, the King ordered the sheriff of Gloucestershire to stop riots caused by the arrest of a friar who had left his religion (Rymer, II, 1029). This is only one of several examples of wandering religious. The most famous of the clerical agitators was John Ball, a leader of the Peasants' Rebellion of 1381 (Walsingham, II, 32-34. See also Knighton, II, 131 and 139). Powell says that many of the minor clergy played roles in the revolt and gives evidence from the lists of persons indicted after the rebelion was put down (p. 62).

One group of these wanderers was the papal chaplains, clergy, often friars, who moved about under papal license and free from the control of ordinary or regular superiors (Rymer (O), VIII, 810).

The danger of heresy was not only that these preachers might be avowedly hostile to church teaching as the Lollards were, but that they were answerable to no authority and might be teaching falsely in the very name of the church, in all good faith. The doctrine of indulgences was particularly subject to their distortions; in 1353, for example, one Nicholas de Hethe was arrested for fraudulently obtaining money for a general indulgence (Rymer, III, 155).

round of duties of the monk within his community. But this was not the only problem which the monasteries faced. They were important land owners, although their financial situation was not what it once had been.[69] Necessary attempts to retrench economically could not increase the monks' popularity, as such attempts usually meant harsher exactions of rents and services. Like most great landowners, the monks held only an administrative and financial interest in their estates with no personal involvement. They were, in fact, as landlords, something of figureheads, figures to blame for the worrisome financial situation of the later fourteenth century.[70] As a major economic force, the monasteries were expected to contribute to the national war effort, as the Parliament of 1371 insisted.[71] In the Rebellion of 1381, the monasteries were a prime target for the angry peasants.[72] The possession of land by the Church was an important economic fact of life, and this possession was not unregulated by the government. Before land could be alienated from lay ownership, a license had to be obtained releasing the would-be patron from the statute of mortmain.[73] Attacks on Church wealth, especially that of the monasteries, were not new, but before the fourteenth century the attacks had come from moralists and satirists. Now a "radical attack on ecclesiastical and monastic endowments in toto had been developed by social reformers. . . ."[74] Marsiglio of Padua (d. 1342) and the Spiritual Franciscans had waged this war; now John Wycliffe took up the radical standard in England.[75] Radical attacks remained the exception, however, and despite attacks on monasteries and monasticism, the monastic profession itself was generally well-regarded and valued. The medieval world did not doubt the efficacy of the services which the monks performed as intercessors before heaven. The criticism leveled at them was that they often neglected this service, not that the service was worthless. Even where men might want to restrict Church property, they usually wanted exceptions made for those ecclesiastics whom they personally wished to endow in order to ensure their own and their families' salvation.[76]

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[69] Wood-Legh, pp. 11-18. Knowles, II, 309-330.

[70] McKisack, p. 342. Knowles, II, 280-83, for the monasteries' influence as land owners. Monastic chroniclers reserve their approbation for superiors who were skillful administrators, rather than for those who were more zealous in the spiritual sphere, as Miss R. Graham points out, "An Essay on English Monasteries," Social Life in Early England: Historical Association Essays, ed. by Geoffrey Barraclough (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960), p. 78.

[71] Knowles, II, 97. McKisack, p. 291. Austin friars spoke in favor of the Parliamentary Act, as did John Wycliffe. On alien priories, see note 24, *supra*.

[72] Powell, p. 34. Some of the hostility toward the regular clergy may have been fomented by unbeneficed seculars (*ibid*., p. 62).

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[73] Wood-Legh, pp. 60-88. The first statute regulating the alienation of property to the Church was enacted in 1217, renewed in 1279 and often in later years. The law now in effect in England is basically that of 1888 (Cross, p. 927).

[74] Knowles, II, 97.

[75] Knowles contrasts Wycliffe and Langland who represents the orthodox reform tradition (ibid., pp. 108-11). McKisack (pp. 289-90), summarizes the position of Giles of Rome (d. 1316), Marsiglio and the Spiritual Franciscans. On the dispute between the mendicant friars and the ecclesiastical possessioners, see Knowles, II, 67-73. See also Pantin, pp. 123-27. The great English spokesman for the possessioners was Richard Fitzralph, Archbishop of Armagh (d. 1360).

The monastic order which held the imagination of the later Middle Ages when other orders were declining was the most unworldly and withdrawn, the Carthusians. These monks lived in solitary cells, meeting only for the Office and Mass, or for meals on feast days. They did not try to balance the active and contemplative lives, nor did they preach to or instruct the laity. They were not contaminated by contact with the mundane: "*nunquam deformata quia nunquam reformata*," was their boast. The Carthusians were never numerous, but never extinct, and of their nine houses in England, seven were founded during Dame Julian's lifetime.[77] These monks stood for an ideal of solitary

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[76] McKisack, p. 309. Wood-Legh, pp. 260, 263. Miss Wood-Legh cannot be accused of holding a special brief for medieval monks.

[77] David Knowles, O.S.B., and W. F. Grimes, *Charterhouse: The Medieval Foundation in the Light of Recent Discoveries* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1954), pp. 2-3. The seven houses were Beauvale (1343), London (1371), Hull (1377), Coventry (1381), Axholm (1397-98), Mount Grace (1398), Sheen (1414).

One of the most interesting and important of these foundations was the London Charterhouse. The story of its founding illustrates the spirit of the age as well as anything. In 1349, Sir Walter de Manny (d. 1372) acquired land for the burial of plague victims, and established a chapel where he intended to found a college of secular priests to pray for the dead. In 1354, two hermits were attached to the chapel, but in 1371, the Carthusians founded contemplation characterized by a personal devotion and "mystical" insight which many busy English laymen found attractive.[78] Indeed, this solitary contemplative life drew many who were not prepared to accept the austere life of the followers of St. Bruno, Hermits and anchorites were common throughout Europe during the Middle Ages, but they proliferated in fourteenth and fifteenth century England.[79]

It cannot be overemphasized that all of these manifestations of medieval religion in English took place in

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a house there under Sir Walter's patronage (*ibid*., pp. 5-7). In 1535-1537, the prior and monks of Charterhouse were among the few who died for refusing to accept the Henrician Reformation. In 1611, Thomas Sutton founded a school and hospital in the house. The school is one of the most famous English public schools, and is now actually located at Godalming in Surrey. The hospital still functions on its original endowment as a home for gentlemen in reduced circumstances.

In May 1947, a coffin was unearthed during excavations at Charterhouse and was opened before a distinguished company of scholars and governors of Charterhouse and Sutton's Hospital. The body was identified as that of Sir Walter de Manny, still holding the seal of the Bull by which in 1351 Clement VI had granted him the right to select a confessor to give him final absolution (*ibid*., Appendix C, pp. 87-92, the official account of the opening of the tomb). The body had "ample" hair and beard. The Secretary of the Master of Sutton's Hospital told us that the hair was still of the reddish color for which Sir Walter was famous (8 October 1972).

Notice that four of the Charterhouses mentioned above were founded during the Schism, despite some internal difficulties in the Order over the proper obedience, not settled until 1409.

[78] Knowles, *Charterhouse*, p. 4. See also David Knowles, O.S.B., *The English Mystical Tradition* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1961), p. 43.

[79] See *infra*, Chapter III.

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the context of the Catholic Church, and that Church was not conceived of as other than a visible society, visible in its buildings, its art, its plays and processions, its sermons and university disputations, its liturgies and quasi-liturgies, and, finally and most obviously, its hierarchy from unbeneficed chaplain to archbishop, cardinals and Pope, all the practical consequences of an incarnational economy of salvation, often castigated but not generally denied.[80] If criticism of the Church was far from uncommon, it was usually moral criticism: theological criticism like Wycliffe's was restricted to the radical fringe. The Church was Holy, and if the holiness was hidden in earthen vessels (as St. Paul had cautioned, 2 Cor. 4:7), then the vessels might need purifying, but the treasure was not to be thrown away.

John Wycliffe (d. 1384) was not the voice of England. The peak of his influence was in 1376 when he called for reform, and he lost much of that influence when he turned to attack the doctrines of the Church. Moreover, his doctrinal appeal was to the theologians of Oxford rather than to the lay middle or lower classes who were most sympathetic to his moral criticisms. In the fifteenth century the movement associated with his name became more popular and took on more social implications. It is to

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[80] All medieval society was hierarchical; even the cosmos was hierarchically organized. The original sense of Kirche was the building where worship took place (Cross, p. 283).

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this later period that the Poor Preachers belong. As one historian has put it:

> [In 1376] the government and people of England were both on [Wycliffe's] side. He was never in his life so strong as he was in this year, when he stood as the national champion against the Papacy, and spoke the national feeling against the abuses of the Church at home. Men had not had time to see how far he was leading them and were content with the general direction.[81]

The crisis of 1376 was a political crisis in the government, a crisis which centered on the figure of Wycliffe's then patron John of Gaunt. To place Wycliffe in this context is not to deny that he spoke with a religious voice, but to reiterate the mingling of religion and politics in that period. The message of Wycliffe and the Lollards was as fraught with implications for the socio-political sphere as was the traditional practice of Rome. In no case was religion a private matter. When, in the next few years, Wycliffe progressed from attacks on the hierarchy to attacks on Church doctrine, specifically transsubstantiation, he was repudiated by Gaunt and many of his lesser followers, although, for various reasons, not all religious, he did find a following.[82] Opposition from the authorities, civil

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[81] G. M. Trevelyan, England in the Age of Wycliffe (3rd ed.; New York: Johnson, rep. 1966), p. 81.

[82] Thomas Nettor, Fasciculi Zizaniorum Magistri Johannis Wyclif, ed. by W. W. Shirley (London: Rolls Series, 1858), pp. xix-xxv, pp. 105-275. In 1395, Sir Richard Stury, Sir Lewis Clifford, Thomas Latimer, and Lord John Montagu presented a statement to Parliament which attacked transubstantiation, images, pilgrimages, prayers for the dead, the riches and secular employment of the clergy, the necessity of auricular confession, exorcisms and the

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and ecclesiastical, contained the threat at first, Bishop Despencer of Norwich being one of the most vigorous champions of orthodoxy.[83] In 1401, the statute De Haeretico Comburendo was passed, and heresy became a crime punishable by burning, the logical outcome of the medieval publicity of religion, and perhaps doubly logical as the usurper Henry IV sought to establish himself as unquestionable King.[84] Most of the early Lollard leaders recanted, but physical fear cannot be given as the only reason that the first generation of Lollards was not ready for martyrdom. "It may well be that they dreaded to appear as avowed heretics before God. . . ."[85] Criticism of ministers, even of dogma, might coincide with "a desire to be included in the fold of the Church,"[86] with belief in the Church as, after all the ark of salvation. Although the ecclesiastical establishment had been challenged, and Wycliffe had prepared a basis for anti-sacramental and anti-sacerdotal religious thought, the challenge was not to

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blessing of inanimate objects. In addition, the statement denounced all luxury and objected to war (Trevelyan, p. 328).

[83] See infra, Chapter III.

[84] In this attempt, Henry IV had himself ancited at his Coronation with holy oil which the Blessed Virgin had given to Thomas à Becket. The oil had been "forgotten" during the reign of Henry II's successors and was now "rediscovered." Henry IV's use of this oil for his anointing secured to him a holier character than had been Richard II's, of course (Walsingham, II, 239-40).

[85] Trevelyan, p. 319. Professor Trevelyan was no Catholic apologist.

[86] Ibid., p. 320.

resound through England yet.[87]

The Church was the matrix of religious life; it was the value system which gave form to experience; it was not just a visible society, but society itself, organized around certain values. The *sacerdotium* was the power within that Church which vocalized and preserved those values and assured the right order of the society. There was, however, in Dame Julian's England, a restlessness which was not only political and social, but religious. On the one hand, this religious restlessness was a dissatisfaction which resulted in attacks on the hierarchy and even on traditional theology, but on the other hand, the restlessness was a type of seeking. It was the appearance of a type of religious thought which was personal in its orientation, although not sundered from its ecclesiastical roots. Within the matrix, the society of the Church, the Christian could and must look for a personal relationship with Christ. This is essential to Christianity, and the possibility of such a relationship is Dame Julian's second basic assumption. What is new in the fourteenth century is the widespread expression of a desire for a direct relationship with Christ, of the possibility of a personal relationship not mediated by the *sacerdotium*. Dom David Knowles sums up the new approach:

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[87] McKisack, p. 311. Knowles, *English Mystical Tradition*, p. 40. Knowles, *Religious Order*, II, 86-105. Jacob, *The Fifteenth Century*, pp. 282-83, also points out that the more militant and political phase of Lollardy was after 1413.

> The religious climate of the age was sympathetic to the personal and "mystical" approach to the way of perfection; the older conception of the monastic life as the only secure way of salvation . . . had lost its wide appeal and its place had been taken, for earnest seekers, by the way of personal, if not solitary endeavor. Similarly, with the breakdown of the vast theological synthesis, the way of truth might be shown in a more concrete form by the seer . . . or found for himself by the solitary contemplative.[88]

This newly personalized approach to God is concomitant with, surely the result of, but also contributing to the burgeoning self-consciousness of the middle class. What is of interest here is not the economic movement of classes, nor the distinction of classes at all, but a more diffuse cluster of events: the rising level of education among the non-noble laity, the increasing emphasis on domestic comfort and privacy, and, more directly our concern, the growing demand for vernacular literature and the development of private forms of religious devotion.

In 1340, the law of Englishry (that is, the legal distinction between Norman and Anglo-Saxon), was abolished; in 1356, the sheriff's courts in London made English their official language, as did the King's courts in 1363; in 1363, Parliament was opened in English; in 1400, Henry IV claimed the throne in an English speech.[89] This replacing of official French with English was at least partly the result of the war with France, a consequence of the growth in national consciousness stimulated by that war and nourishment for that consciousness. But the growing use of English was not only a reaction to the war, it was also a natural tendency, and we might note that in 1337 Edward III required by statute that Englishmen learn French, in order better to carry on the war in France.[90] Not only courtly French, but also ecclesiastical Latin was being eclipsed by English. More precisely, Latin remained the ecclesiastical and theological language, while English established itself as the religious language. Naturally, English had previously been used in private prayer, in confession, in sermons, but now there developed a literature of devotion in the vernacular for those who were literate but not in Latin. Indeed, vernacular religious literature was not new: homiletic and devotional writing had kept English prose alive in the face of Latin and French.[91] It was in the fourteenth century, however, that

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[88] Knowles, English Mystical Tradition, p. 43. Knowles names Dame Julian in this passage. Note how applicable the description is to the Carthusian approach.

[89] G. G. Coulton, Chaucer and His England (6th ed.; London: Methuen and Co., 1937), pp. 3-4.

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[90] *Ibid*., p. 3.

[91] Robert K. Stone, *Middle English Prose Style: Margery Kempe and Julian of Norwich* (The Hague: Mouton and Co., 1970), p. 12. R. W. Chambers, *On the Continuity of English Prose* (London: Early English Text Society, Original Series 191A, 1932), p. xciii.

Owst points out the influence of the sermon literature, *Literature and Pulpit*, p. 7, and discusses vernacular sermons, manuals and treatises or "sermon encyclopedias," *Preaching*, pp. 222-32, 282-302.

We are not concerned with secularliterature. The standard handbook for vernacular literature of the period is J. E. Wells, *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English* this vernacular religious prose was forged into the medium by which a master like Richard Rolle could describe his own experience or insight, and a seer like Dame Julian could communicate her own vision directly in the everyday language of speaker and hearer. If a people's language (and despite the real differences in dialect English was a language), is the creative expression of its ethos, a living religious vernacular tradition is a prerequisite for a national religious tradition. The everyday, down-to-earth quality of so much English religion is expressed directly in English, the almost domestic atmosphere, the "homely dalliance."[92] Professor Owst has referred to the pulpit as "the true parent of a revived literary Realism . . .," that is, the description of "everyday things as seen by the shrewd observer,"[93] and the medium of this description was English.

Not only the pulpit, but also drama fostered this vernacular tradition, although often in the form of poetry. In the mysteries beloved of medieval man, we find some of

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(New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1916), with the Supplements, 1919-1952.

[92] This is a phrase characteristic of Margery Kempe, and the adjective is a favorite of Dame Julian's. It means stable or habitual, familiar. (Martin Thornton, English Spirituality: An Outline of Ascetical Theology According to the English Pastoral Tradition [London: S.P.C.K., 1963], pp. 173, 184). Thornton also gives as an example of this atmosphere expressed in a phrase Richard Rolle's "full merry counsel with his ghostly father" (p. 174).

[93] Owst, Literature and Pulpit, p. 23. See also pp. 23-47.

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the most powerful and seminal presentations of Church teaching in the ordinary idiom. The sermon, the old narrative poems, the liturgy itself, all went into the shaping of the medieval dramatization of the events of Christ's life, the Virgin's, the saints', the stories not only of the Scriptures but of the Apocrypha.[94] Dr. Owst thinks that, at least in England, drama and preaching are related, and that the sermon prompted the drama toward "a free dramatic interpretation of human life and conduct."[95] But the dramatic presentation of the great events of the Nativity, the Passion, the Judgment were also penetrated by the preacher's imagery and interpretation as he instructed his congregation. Drama and sermon, which reached a wider audience than any book did, shared a didactic purpose.[96] Dr. Owst goes so far as to say that the plays were "constructed . . . from actual sermon material," although the preacher was in turn inspired by the plays.[97] The exact pattern of influence among the plays and sermons, poems, etc. does not concern us. Suffice it to say, that during Dame Julian's life it was possible to see the mysteries of redemption vividly represented in virtually all of the great and many of the lesser centers of the kingdom. These mysteries were presented in the spoken language of the people, and found their first audience among the townsmen, the bourgeoisie. The plays were extremely popular, and the devices adopted by the dramatists seem to have influenced the imagery of sculptor, painter and glass worker, as both the dramatic and the visual arts sought to instruct and to edify the people.[98] Oral and visual presentation of religious truths remained more important than the written.

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[94] Karl Young, "Observations on the Origin of the Medieval Passion-Play," Publications of the Modern Language Association, XXV (1910), 310-12, 332-50. Karl Young, The Drama of the Medieval Church (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933). E. K. Chambers, The Medieval Stage (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903), especially II, 3-57, 65-75. See also Owst, Literature and Pulpit, pp. 470-547.

[95] Owst, Literature and Pulpit, p. 491, see pp. 491-97.

[96] On the Nativity cycle, see ibid., pp. 497-507; on the Passion cycle, ibid., pp. 507-11; on the judgment plays, ibid., pp. 511-24.

[97] Ibid., p. 525.

While drama and sermon provided a popular presentation of religious mysteries and teaching in the vernacular, the Bible and the liturgy remained divorced from this vernacular tradition. Latin remained not only the language of theology and of Church business, but also the language of official worship. This continued use of Latin long after it was the daily language of Christian people was chiefly the result of a belief that the text of the Mass was sacred and had, therefore, to be preserved from the profanation of the vernacular. Latin, Greek, and Hebrew were the three sacred languages, in which alone Sacred Scripture and the

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[98] M. D. Anderson, Drama and Imagery in English Medieval Churches (Cambridge: University Press, 1963).

Mass might be formulated, not only to avoid the danger of error and inexactness, but also to safeguard the mysterium.[99] While Scripture was not unknown to the medieval Christian, he had little chance to read it in his own language, not because the Church forbade translation, but because there was no vernacular Bible widely distributed among the people. The "Lollard Bible" may have set back the English translation of the Bible, insofar as it was the occasion for Archbishop Arundel's prohibition of unauthorized translations in 1408.[100] Certainly, Scripture was not the formative force in medieval spirituality.[101] In the case of both the Scriptures and the liturgy, the impact on the laity was mediated through the clergy.

Increasingly, the Mass became a ritual to be watched rather than a rite in which to participate. As Father McNally has said:

> Characteristic of the development of worship in the Middle Ages is the gradual, almost total separation of the altar from the people, and the people from the priest . . . [Gothic architecture reflects this tendency as the altar was moved back into the sanctuary, as far as possible from the nave]. In solitary silence, in deep shadows, in clerical aloofness, the sacred rite as a pageant unfolded. . . . The Mass as a rite became *de facto* a "spectacle" which the

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[99] Robert E. McNally, S.J., *The Unreformed Church* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1965), pp. 114-16.

[100] *Ibid.*, p. 103, note 29. See Margaret Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible* (Cambridge: University Press, 1920).

[101] McNally, pp. 70-73.

> faithful were privileged to witness, rather than a religious act in which they had both a right and an obligation to share.[102]

Allegorical interpretations of the Mass rubrics contributed to the view of the Mass as a tableau worked up from historical events, "a patchwork of allegorical vignettes,"[103] rather than an organic celebration of the drama of redemption. The pageant which the Mass became centered around the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist,[104] while the salvific drama of Christ's sacrifice was relegated to the stage. This distortion was a function and a reinforcement of the medieval tendency to divorce the risen Christ who is presented as now reigning in His divinity from the man Jesus Christ who is presented as He was in His earthly life, a divorce which Professor Jungmann traces to the early Middle Ages and the conflict over Arianism, a consequence of the clarification of the two natures of Christ made at Chalcedon in a formula which did not emphasize the unity of Christ. The glorified, living Christ became, after the struggle with the semi-Arians, so overwhelmingly conceived of in Trinitarian terms that a real dichotomy occurred in religious devotion. When Christ was considered as He now is, He was considered in the context of the Trinity, with emphasis on His divinity. When He was considered as man, He was considered as He was when He lived on earth. As now present, He is divine, and His Presence was not considered in the context of the process of redemption acted out in the historical life and death; the Sacrament was divorced from the Sacrifice.[105] Easter was separated from the Incarnation cycle, and the Incarnation came to include the Passion.[106]

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[102] Ibid., pp. 117-19. It might be noted here that the "classical" Gothic of the Ile de France impresses one with almost a temple character; space consecrated to the divinity. The characteristic English treatment of space is much more diffuse and each part of the building is a more or less self-contained whole. The Perpendicular, a peculiarly English form of Gothic, is not only physically suited to the needs of a congregation for preaching (nave), processions (aisles), guild and chantry chapels (Jacob, pp. 648-49), but in its horizontal emphasis and treatment of space impresses one with its function as a congregating place.

[103] McNally, p. 126. J. Jungmann, The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development (2 vols.; New York: Benziger, 1951), I, 107-11. This patchwork effect was also characteristic of the use of Scripture which was often treated as a book of examples, see McNally, p. 71.

[104] Jungmann, I, 107-11. The Real Presence was also the focus of the Feast of Corpus Christi, instituted in 1264, when many of the drama cycles were played.

As the Mass took on more and more the character of a clerical pageant, lay piety became increasingly channeled into private devotions. Concentration on the

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[105] J. Jungmann, "The Defeat of Teutonic Arianism and the Revolution in Religious Culture in the Early Middle Ages," _Pastoral Liturgy_ (New York, 1962), p. 57. Albert Mirgeler, _Mutations of Western Christianity_, trans. by E. Quinn (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968), pp. 64-65. Mirgeler places the attitude toward the Eucharist as primarily the Real Presence in the context of the cult of relics (pp. 54-63).

[106] Father McNally first suggested this idea to me in Spring, 1968, in the context of a discussion of medieval passion piety.

"impetrative value"[107] of the Mass led to making even the liturgy a medium of private prayer rather than an act of communal worship. Private Masses, votive Masses, and the consequent hiring of Mass priests became increasingly central to the practice of the Christian life. Even the liturgical calendar filled up with saints' feasts which competed for attention with the commemoration of the events of salvation history. Where once the nobility had established monasteries, now townsmen and the gentry set up chantries where Mass would be offered for their souls and those of their families.

The increasingly private tone of religious devotion is indicated by the popularity from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries of the Book of Hours.[108] These books were generally in Latin, indicating that the private tendency in religious devotion was not limited to those who knew no Latin. By the fourteenth century, however, there were English translations available, known as "Primers."[109]

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[107] McNally, p. 125. These developments did not begin nor end in the fourteenth century.

[108] François Vandenbroucke, O.S.B., "Nouveau milieux, nouveau problèmes, du XII^e au XVI^e siècle," *La spiritualité du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1961), pp. 586-87. H. Leclerq, "Livres d'Heures," *Dictionnaire d'archaeologie chrétienne et de la liturgie*, IX^2, col. 1836-82. Several Books of Hours of artistic importance have been printed in facsimile editions, one of the most interesting being the Grandes Heures of Jean, duc de Berry, referred to *supra*, p. 53.

[109] Charles C. Butterworth, *The English Primers (1529-1545): Their Publication and Connection with the English and the Reformation in England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953), pp. 4, 2. In Chapter I,

The famous, sumptuous Books of Hours were costly and could be commissioned only by royalty or by the wealthy nobility and bourgeoisie.[110] Less elaborate books were used as daily prayer books.[111] The Book of Hours and the Primer were intended for the laity, as a guide in their private devotions or as a help in following Church services, not, however, the Mass. These books consisted of devotional accretions to the Divine Office, the Office itself being left to the recitation of monks and canons.[112] The Primer contained shortened forms of the Offices of the Blessed Virgin, of the Passion and of the Holy Ghost, litanies, the Penitential Psalms, the Office of the Dead, preceded by a calendar of saints' days, and possibly an almanac for determining the date of Easter. It might include the Paternoster, Creed and Commandments, as well as a form for confession. The significant feature of these books is that they do not depend on the official prayer of the Church,

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Mr. Butterworth gives the earlier history of the Primer.

[110] Leclerq, col. 1838-39. These books were handed down as heirlooms and often carried records of births, marriages and deaths.

[111] *Ibid.*, col. 1840. Philip the Hardy of Burgundy had a small book with a pocket for his spectacles.

[112] Henry Littlehales, *The Prymer or Lay Folks' Prayer Book* (London: Early English Text Society, Original Series 109, 1897), p. xxxvii, also pp. xiii-xxxvi. Littlehales explains that the layman might use his Primer in church, but would not find everything said there in his book, giving specific comparisons to the Sarum Use, the standard usage in the Canterbury province, (p. xxxvi). Butterworth is perhaps misleading on this point (p. 2).

but were ordered to the practical sanctification of daily life. They were independent of the liturgical cycle and were also independent of ecclesiastical control in many ways.[113]

Not only did religious devotion take on a more and more private character, but the search for truth, in religious terms the search for God, took on an increasingly private tone. As Dom David Knowles says: "the religious climate . . . was sympathetic to a personal and 'mystical' approach to the way of perfection," a "more concrete" approach, the communication of one who has experienced God to those who seek Him. The flowering of English mysticism, to repeat, cannot be reduced to non-religious causes. What can be done is to show how fertile was the soil in which the flower bloomed.

Scholasticism in the fourteenth century was not a rigid system, not "the arid, logic-chopping formalism of myth."[114] But the vital energy of the schools was no longer channeled into the elaboration of syntheses of reason and faith. Professor Leff describes the gradual change of focus from the thirteenth century to the fourteenth century (what Professor Knowles calls "the flight from metaphysics"[115]), and discusses the role of Ockhamism in the divorce of faith and reason.

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[113] Leclerq, col. 1838. But Butterworth points out that after the rise of the Lollards, English translations of the Scriptures were forbidden in the Primers (p. 5). It remains true that ecclesiastical authorities did not arrange these books.

[114] Leff, p. 309.

> [Ockhamism emphasized] the sovereignty of individual experience for the natural order and of faith for the supernatural. . . . Ockhamism meant fideism as much as positivism, belief as much as rational doubt.[116]

Professor Knowles and Dr. Leff agree in tracing the division of faith and reason to the condemnation of certain of Aquinas' theses by the University of Paris in 1227. Knowles quotes Etienne Gilson's fine description:

> After 1227, the aspect of the whole of medieval thought is changed. After a brief honeymoon, . . . theology and philosophy think they see that their marriage was a mistake. While waiting for the decree of divorce, which is not long in coming, they proceed to divide their effects. Each resumes possession of its own problems and warns the other against interference.[117]

The consequence of the Ockhamist divorce was to remove faith from "the purview of the Christian thinker into that of the Christian believer."[118] The practical rather than the speculative became the more important aspect of faith, practical not in a simply moralistic sense, however. The knowledge of God was the goal, but that knowledge was approached under the rubric of the union of love. "Love was His meaning," Dame Julian was told.[119] This emphasis on experience of God rather than on knowledge about Him was characteristic of the mystics in England, along the Rhine, in the Low Countries, in France--Richard Rolle, Meister Eckhart, Henry Suso, Jan van Ruysbroeck, Jean Gerson and the other late medieval mystics. Their mysticism coincided with a withdrawal from reason and ratiocination.[120]

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[115] Knowles, English Mystical Tradition, p. 42.

[116] Leff, p. 250.

[117] Quoted in David Knowles, O.S.B., The Evolution of Medieval Thought (New York: Random House Vintage Books, 1962), p. 300. Leff, pp. 238-40. Paul Vignaux, Philosophy in the Middle Ages: An Introduction (New York: The World Publishing Co. Meridian Books, 1967), pp. 180-213.

[118] Knowles, Evolution of Medieval Thought, p. 329.

These mystics spoke of their own private experience as individuals. Their way to God--or ways--was independent of the sacerdotal, sacramental system, just as the Primers were independent of the liturgical calendar: in both cases the ecclesiastical framework was the prerequisite, but in both cases it was transcended. It cannot be overemphasized that the English mystics were loyal and faithful Christians and Catholics, and that their religious experience was conditioned by the medieval Church, but their most fervent experience of the divine did not take place in the specifically sacerdotal context of the liturgy and sacraments. The treasure of medieval mysticism enriched the life of the Church, but it was treasure which could be carried out of that Church. This individualistic relationship to God, this bypassing intermediaries was an attitude which contributed to the openness of the English mystics to the reception of personal, private "shewings" by Christ.[121] It may also have contributed to the ready acceptance of the marvelous by medieval man.[122] It certainly is an attitude which conditioned the late medieval appreciation of the Passion (which we shall examine in Chapter IV). Everyone was encouraged to realize that Christ died _for me_, a realization facilitated by increasingly detailed descriptions of the Passion, increasingly affective meditations on the event. The ideal was to concentrate one's attention so wholeheartedly on the events of the Passion that it seemed as if they were taking place before one's very eyes, as if one were present at the Crucifixion, immediately present. The devotee associated himself with Christ in a compassio which might even produce tears, as he pondered on his sins and on the love which led Christ to suffer so for him.

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[119] *Revelations*, p. 202.

[120] Richard Rolle specifically rejected the speculative approach, leaving Oxford as a young man (Carl Horstman, *Yorkshire Writers*: *Richard Rolle of Hampole and His Followers* [2 vols.; New York: Macmillan, 1895-1896], I, xiii). He stressed the necessity of experiencing God, for example in the *Incendium Amoris* (ed. by Margaret Deanesly [Manchester: University Press, 1915]), and the *Melos Amoris* (ed. by E. J. Arnould [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957]). Walter Hilton and Dame Julian are more complex than Rolle in this as in other ways.

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[121] Cuthbert Butler, O.S.B., _Western Mysticism: The Teaching of SS. Augustine, Gregory and Bernard on Contemplation and the Contemplative Life: Neglected Chapters in the History of Religion_ (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1924), p. 183, points out that the mysticism which abounds in revelations and visions set in with St. Gertrude (d. 1302) and the two SS. Mechthild (d. last twenty years of the thirteenth century).

[122] The vision of a hierophantic universe is, of course, the theoretical construct behind the belief in signs and omens. Medieval men saw nothing unlikely in the idea of God's making His will known by special interventions in the regular course of events. Monastic chroniclers tell numerous stories of marvels and omens. One of the most interesting sources for these miracle accounts, however, is the _Chronicon_ of Adam Usk. Adam Usk was a cleric, a busy and important lawyer, a well-traveled servant of the King. He often had portentous dreams, for example of Richard II's deposition (_Chronicon Adae de Usk: 1377-1421_, ed. and trans. by E. N. Thompson [2nd ed.; London: Royal Society of Literature, 1904], p. 42). He gives many accounts of omens and miracles, see for example, pp. 41, 42, 55, _et al_. See also pp. xv-xix.

In common with her "even-Christians," Dame Julian accepted the existence of the Church as the structure, the society in which all experience, including knowledge of God, takes place, and she accepted the possibility of a personal relationship between herself and her Savior. Within that Church, the hierarchy, as was expected of them, concerned themselves with the right order of the society, which meant in practical terms the relationships between Pope, King and clergy, a situation in which the means often overshadowed the end. A church historian considering the fourteenth century naturally asks about the impact of the Avignon papacy and the Great Western Schism. In England, these great ecclesiastical events were not approached in terms of the constitution of the Church, but in terms of the position of the Church vis-à-vis England. The attention of the higher clergy was diverted from the theological issues of the Schism as well as from the religious welfare of the people by the tasks of civil and ecclesiastical administration, while the lower clergy competed among themselves for the attention of the laity. Although all religious experience took place in the context of the Church, there was not a sound, specifically sacerdotal spirituality. It would seem that the publicity of the Church, the involvement in this world inherent in the very concept of Christendom, led to the development of a private relationship between God and the soul, a relationship not dependent on the *sacerdotium*.

CHAPTER III

DAME JULIAN'S LIFE AND HER SPIRITUALITY

Almost nothing is known about the Lday Julian's life. She tells us little of herself, and what she does say is designed to situate her Revelations in an historical context, that is, in the context of her life,[1] and to illuminate her own spiritual state at the time of the revelations. These visions were shown to her during an illness which she suffered when she was thirty years old. The revelations began at 4:00 A.M. on May 8, 1373, and continued through the night until after nine o'clock in the morning, when she had received fifteen "shewings."[2] After the fifteenth shewing, she sank back into her sickness, doubting if she had not been delirious. At this time she slept and dreamed of the devil.[3] Awakening and realizing that her doubts were a temptation from the Fiend, she was "brought to great rest and peace, without sickness of body or dread of conscience."[4] The sixteenth and last revelation took place "on the night following."[5] Dame Julian pondered these revelations for twenty years, receiving "inward teaching"[6] which she does not describe in detail, although she does say that fifteen years later she "was answered in ghostly understanding," and told that "Love was His meaning."[7] Her book, then, was not written before 1393, although as we have seen, the shorter version was quite certainly written before that time.[8] Dame Julian does not give us a complete spiritual autobiography, being much more concerned to communicate the content of her revelations than to describe her own reactions to them. Much less does she care about giving us the external details of her life. While it would be interesting to have our curiosity about Dame Julian satisfied, the lack of personal detail is consonant with the anchoress' insistence that she was shown nothing for herself and was of no more importance than her fellow Christians: "That which I say of me, I say in the person of all mine even-Christians."[9] She goes out of her way to insist that she is of no more personal significance than those who desire and love God, but are not favored with visions. She does not, therefore, dwell on her own inner or outer life. She does tell us that she

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[1] Walsh, p. 3.

[2] Revelations, pp. 3, 164.

[3] Ibid., pp. 165-66. [4] Ibid., p. 167.

[5] Revelations, p. 164. This would seem to refer to

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the night of May 9, as Dame Julian evidently slept through the night of May 8.

[6] Revelations, p. 110. [7] Revelations, p. 202.

[8] Supra, Chapter I.

[9] Revelations, p. 19. Again and again Dame Julian reminds us that she saw all "in general and nothing in particular" (p. 76).

is a woman,[10] but does not give her name. Her Christian name is given as "Julian" by the scribe of B. M. Add. Ms. 37790, who also tells us that she was an anchoress in 1413.[11] We do not know her family name,[12] but it seems safe to assume that she was of gentle although not of noble birth, and quite certainly of a Norwich family.[13] We do not know her educational background, but it is generally allowed that as a girl she may well have been educated at Carrow Priory, a Benedictine house of nuns, standing just outside of medieval Norwich, which had a well-known school for girls.[14] If so, she would have learned to write and read as well as to sew.[15] Lady Julian calls herself "a simple creature that cowde no letter."[16] It is not impossible that this was literally true, as in the case of

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[10] Reynolds, p. 8.

[11] "Here es a vision schewed be the goedness of God to a deuoute Woman and hir Name es Julyan that is recluse atte Norwych and yitt ys on lyfe. Anno domine millesimo ccccxiii." See supra, Chapter I on the use of the name "Julian."

[12] J. R. Chaplin, the architect who undertook the rebuilding of St. Julian's Church after World War II, reported that he thought the anchoress Julian might belong to the family of Sir Thomas Erpingham, Henry V's standard-bearer at Agincourt. Sir Thomas had a sister Julian who married but was widowed shortly thereafter. Her son William (b. 1383) was Sir Thomas Erpingham's heir. Sir Thomas' father owned a house near the church of St. Julian, (Eastern Daily Press, 1 September 1951). This is an interesting theory, but there is no real reason to accept it. It is not impossible that Julian of Norwich had a son, born in 1383, but it seems, on the whole, improbable that ten years after her visions she married and gave birth to a child, even ignoring the fact that she would have been forty years old at that time. It must be admitted, however, that we do not know when she became an anchoress. Imagination given free rein could associate her emphasis on the maternity of Jesus' love for men with her own maternity, but this is neither necessary nor rational.

There was no specific age limit for enclosure as an anchoress, and Rotha Mary Clay explains that an anchoress might be a professed nun, a maiden who was not a nun, or a matron (The Hermits and Anchorites of England [Detroit: Methuen reprint 1968], p. 92). It is interesting to note that Dame Julian refers to thirty years of age as youth (p. 3).

[13] Walsh, p. 1, discusses and rejects the conjecture that Dame Julian was not a native of Norwich. He points out, specifically, that her reference to St. John of Beverly (d. 721) as "our kind neighbor" does not indicate she was from Yorkshire. St. John enjoyed a wide popularity in

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England (Henry V ascribed the victory of Agincourt to his intercession), and Walsh points out that Dame Julian's reference to him is in the context of illustrating God's homeliness with his creatures by introducing a familiar English figure into the group of saints (p. 3).

[14] J. C. Cox, "The Religious Houses of Norfolk," *Victoria History of the County of Norfolk*, ed. by A. Constable (2 vols.; Westminster: Victoria County Histories, 1901), II, 315, 351-52. Walter Rye, *Carrow Abbey, Otherwise Carrow Priory: Near Norwich, in the County of Norfolk: Its Foundation, Buildings, Officers and Inmates; With Appendices* (Norwich: Agas H. Goose for the Author, 1889), p. 4. The location of Carrow Priory is shown on the plan of the neighborhood of St. Julian's church given by Robert H. Flood, *A Description of St. Julian's Church, Norwich, and an Account of Dame Julian's Connection with It* (Norwich: By the Author, 1936), pp. 4-5. David Knowles, O.S.B. and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses in England and Wales* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1972), p. 254.

Eileen Power, *Medieval English Nunneries, c. 1275-1535* (Cambridge: University Press, 1922), pp. 261-62, says that convents did not always provide education for girls, but when they did do so, they took in wealthy girls of the upper and middle classes for economic reasons, see also pp. 262-79, 568-81.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 260. Warrack, p. xxii. The latter two skills were presupposed by the *Ancrene Riwle*.

[16] *Revelations*, p. 3.

St. Catherine of Siena.[17] The common interpretation of her statement is that she did not know Latin.[18] It seems most likely that Dame Julian could and did read, and that she meditated on what she read, although, again, no necessary conclusion can be reached, and there is no documentary evidence that she was educated at Carrow.

It is certain, however, that the anchorage of St. Julian's church, where tradition has it that Dame Julian was enclosed, was in the gift of Carrow Priory.[19] This would seem to make some connection between Dame Julian and the Priory probable. There is, however, no evidence that she was a professed religious: no documentary evidence of such a profession exists, and nothing in her book demands the conclusion that she was a religious. Indeed, the description which Dame Julian gives of her sickness may fit better in the context of a lay woman's life than in a nun's.[20] She may even have become a Benedictine after her illness or at the time of her enclosure. Many medieval recluses were nuns, although this was not invariably the case.[21] While the Prioress of Carrow might look first to her sisters to fill the anchorage,[22] she might well not find an appropriate candidate within the convent. Perhaps none of the nuns felt able to sustain the life, perhaps none could satisfy the Prioress or the Bishop of her ability to do so, perhaps even, none could provide the necessary financial guarantees.[23] Moreover, the Priory had another anchorhold in its gift, one which was at the convent.[24] If a nun did seek enclosure, she might have preferred to be still close to her sisters.

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[17] Eric Colledge, *Medieval Mysitos of England* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1961), p. 85.

[18] See, for example, Paul Molinari, S.J., *Julian of Norwich: The Teaching of a Fourteenth Century Mystic* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1958), p. 10. Sister Anna Maria Reynolds, "Some Literary Influences in the *Revelations* of Julian of Norwich," *Leeds Studies in English and Kindred Languages*, VII and VIII (1952), 20, note 12. William R. Inge, *Studies of English Mystics* (London: Oxford University Press, 1906), p. 51, points out that Dame Julian was aware of such theological concepts as God's presence in a point. On the other hand, E. I. Watkin, "Dame Julian of Norwich," *The English Way: Studies in English Spirituality from Bede to Newman*, ed. by Maisie Ward (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1934), p. 129, comments on her bad Latin in using *Benedicite Domine* and *Benedicite Dominus* indifferently. R. M. Wilson, "Three Middle English Mystics," *English Association Essays and Studies*, New Series IX (1956), 97, gives an inflated list of literary influences on Dame Julian. Power, pp. 246-47, 260, discusses the general state of linguistic knowledge in medieval convents, saying that by the fourteenth century it is not safe to assume a knowledge of Latin, and that "the linguistic learning of English nuns at different periods was similar to that of the gentry outside the convent" (p. 246).

[19] Cox, p. 352. Flood, pp. 37-38. Flood, pp. 8-11, discusses the dedication of the church of St. Julian.

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[20] *Revelations*, shorter version, p. 14. E. L. Watkins points out that Dame Julian's mother was performing the offices usually carried out by the Abbess, and that she does not mention the presence of any nuns at her sickbed, also that the curate was sent for rather than a convent chaplain (p. 130). There is no reason to identify the "Mother" described as other than her natural mother. Clifton Wolters in his introduction to the *Revelations of Divine Love* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1966), agrees with this point of view (p. 15).

[21] *The Ancrene Riwle* (ed. by M. Day [London: Early English Text Society Original Series 225 (1952)], p. 3) demands that an anchoress is to vow obedience only to the bishop, and states that her order is that of St. James rather than either the black or the white (pp. 4-5). In addition, the Riwle sets out specific prayers to be said throughout the day which might suggest that the anchoress' prayer was not regulated by a religious Rule,but it might just suggest a supplementing of the regular prayers. See Clay, p. 92. Wolters, p. 16: "The fact that she is variously described as 'Dame,' 'Lady,' and 'Mother,' does not help in this respect, for such titles were ascribed indiscriminately to anchoresses and the fully professed." Besides, most of the ascriptions are not contemporary. It may be noted that the scribe of Add. Ms. 37790 referred to her as a "devout woman." Walsh (p. 2) quotes a will of 1404 where "Julian an anchoress at St. Julian's church" is mentioned, and in the will of 1416, she is "Julian a recluse at Norwich" (p. 3). In some of the wills extracted by Rye, nuns are referred to without titles (Rye, Appendix IX, pp. xiii-xxix, esp. pp. xii-xiv). (See Warrack, pp. xxii-xxiii).

Besides the dependence of the anchorhold of St. Julian's on Carrow Priory, another reason is advanced for deducing Dame Julian's connection with the Priory, that is, the Benedictine character of her book. The only direct (although unacknowledged) quotation of an earlier writer which has so far been identified in the Revelations is from St. Gregory's "Life of St. Benedict": in chapter eight of the longer version, she writes "for to a soul that seeth the Maker of all, all that is made seemeth full little."[25] The Benedictine tone of the book is, indeed, more pervasive than this one quotation, a point which we shall return to later. That Benedictine influence was not, however, necessarily derived from Carrow Priory alone. Norwich had more than one Benedictine House,[26] most notably the cathedral priory of the Holy Trinity.[27] The cathedral priory was never one of the great Benedictine houses,[28] but it did play an important role in the diocese.[29] Moreover, "Benedictine spirituality," as we may loosely term it, had been the dominant spirituality in Europe until the twelfth century popularization of the pseudo-Dionysius,[30]

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[22] D. Gabriel Meunier says this in his introduction to Revelations de l'amour de Dieu (Paris, 1910), p. xix.

[23] Since 1233, enclosure as an anchorite had required approval by the Bishop of the diocese (Clay, pp. xvii, 90). Miss Clay says that the Bishop would not approve enclosure until he was satisfied that the anchorite would be provided for (p. 103, pp. 108-13 on types of financial arrangements). The Ancrene Riwle, p. 85, says that the anchoress should be well provided for.

[24] Rye, p. 7, citing the will of Robert Pert, proved in 1443, which mentions both the anchoress of Carrow and the anchoress of St. Julian's. See also pp. XIV and XVII.

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[25] *Revelations*, p. 18. Gregory "Life of St. Benedict," Book II of the *Dialogues*, Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, LVI, col. 200. See also Molinari, p. 92, and Reynolds, "Literary Influences," p. 23. Virtually every discussion of Dame Julian points out this reference. But that this references to the life of the great abbot does not prove a specific Benedictine connection is indicated by the fact that St. Catherine of Siena, among others, also knew and used that "Life" *The Dialogue of the Seraphic Virgin Catherine of Siena*, ed. by A. Thorold (Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, abridged ed., 1950), p. 168.

[26] Cox, pp. 317-51. Knowles, *Medieval Religious Houses*, pp. 52-82, lists the Benedictine houses in England. He gives eleven houses of men and four of women in Norfolk (pp. 259-61). In Norwich, besides the cathedral and Carrow Priory, there was St. Leonard's Priory. There may also have been a cell of fewer than four monks at St. William's.

[27] Cox, pp. 317-27, describes this at length.

[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 326-27.

[29] We have already mentioned Adam Easton's activity in organizing the monks as preachers, *supra*, Chapter II.

[30] Butler, p. 182. "Benedictine spirituality" is a catch phrase by which we can conveniently refer to the spirituality which was adopted and adapted by the followers

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a spirituality which Dom Cuthbert Butler calls an "affective practical mysticism."[31]

During Dame Julian's lifetime, Norwich was one of the chief cities of the realm.[32] Its important role in the wool trade[33] led to strong ties with the Continent, especially the Low Countries and Flanders.[34] Despite severe suffering during the fourteenth century plagues, Norwich's prosperity continued well into the fifteenth century.[35] Guilds were especially important in Norwich, dominating the social and religious life as well as controlling

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of St. Benedict through the centuries, the spirituality which Dom Cuthbert calls simply "Western mysticism," a spirituality which St. Augustine as well as Gregory the Great and St. Bernard did much to shape. See also Molinari, p. 9.

[31] Butler, p. 190. Dom Cuthbert is referring to Pourrat's description of Bernard of Clairvaux's spirituality.

[32] Joseph Cox Russell, *British Medieval Population* (Albuquerque, N.M.: University of New Mexico Press, 1948), gives the population of the borough of Norwich in 1377 as 5,928 (Table ii,i, p. 285, also p. 302). This can be compared with similar figures for the boroughs of Middlesex (London): 35,000, Bristol: 9,517, York: 7,248, but is larger than almost all other boroughs.

[33] McKisack, pp. 349-58.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 368. Edward III settled Flemish weavers in Norwich and other parts of England. See Myers, p. 105.

[35] McKisack, p. 381. The late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries were a great building period in Norwich, the most impressive parish church of the time being the fifteenth century St. Peter Mancroft, in the Perpendicular style. On this building activity and the influence of the friars on church building, see Simkins, p. 236.

commerce and industry.[36] Norwich was also an important ecclesiastical center, Besides the Benedictine houses already mentioned, there were houses for several orders of friars: the Carmelites, Franciscans, Dominicans, and the Austin friars, as well as some of the lesser orders.[37] From 1370 until 1406, the Bishop of Norwich was the militant Henry Despencer who led the "Crusade" against the Clementists in 1383.[38] Since his arrival in his see, Bishop Despencer had been in constant conflict with the regular clergy, as well as with the citizens of Norwich.[39]

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[36] The authority of the guilds in Norwich was fostered by the type of municipal organization which the city had: four bailiffs headed the city, supported by an elected council of twenty-four, an arrangement confirmed by royal charter in 1380. The first mayor was installed in the fifteenth century (McKisack, pp. 373-74, 382. Jacob, _The Fifteenth Century_, p. 400). The guilds regulated apprentices, working conditions and wages and prices, as well as being responsible for their own poor, sick, old, widows and orphans. There were parish guilds which were more strictly religious than the craft and mercantile associations, but these latter did not neglect the religious needs of members. The ordinances of the Guild of the Saddlers and Spurriers of Norwich, for example, make provision for the funeral offices for their dead and prayers for them, as well as for regular gifts to the high altar of Carrow Priory and the cathedral (J. Toulmin Smith and Lucy Toulmin Smith, _English Guilds_ [London: Early English Text Society, Original Series XL (rep. 1963)[, pp. 42-43). The major religious function of the guilds was the burial of members and the funding of chantries for the remembrance of their dead. Moreover, these guilds were often important benefactors of the church, education and the arts, their best known artistic activity being the production of the great mystery plays (McKisack, p. 374).

[37] Simkins, p. 236. Knowles, _Medieval Religious Houses_, pp. 205, 214, 222-23, 233, 247. There were also Austin canons, pp. 137-45.

[38] See Chapter II, _supra_.

[39] Simkins, p. 244, tells of a plot to murder the

This conflict was superceded by the more important struggle which broke out in 1381, the Peasants' Rebellion, when the East Anglian peasants were a major force in the insurrection. The Revolt opened in "grim earnest" on June 17 at Norwich, or, more properly, just outside the city on Mushold or Mousehole Heath. The rebels were able to enter the city. On June 18, a party marched on Carrow Priory, where they seized the deeds and Court rolls.[40] But within a week, Bishop Despencer had arrived in his cathedral city, and was vigorously suppressing the revolt there, as he did also in Cambridgeshire, where he had no authority.[41] When Despencer returned from the Flemish expedition, he retired to his diocese,[42] although he did play an active part on Richard II's side in 1399.[43] In Norwich, he devoted his

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bishop, which resulted in the beheading of the conspirators. For a sketch of other conflicts, see Reginald L. Poole, "Henry Despencer or Spencer," _Dictionary of National Biography_, ed. by Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee (22 vols.; New York: Macmillan, 1908), V, 860-61. The town and the cathedral had a history of conflict, see Cox, pp. 319-20.

[40] Powell, pp. 28-34.

[41] _Ibid._, p. 37. Powell prints (pp. 38-39) the description of the Bishop's activity given by Capgrave in the _Liber de Illustribus Henricis_. That Capgrave chose the Bishop as one of his "illustrious Henries" will indicate the tone of his report. Despencer caught, shrove and beheaded the ringleaders. See also Walsingham, II, 6-8.

[42] For the failure of the expedition, Despencer was deprived of his temporalities, but had them back by 1385 (Perroy, pp. 204-205). The episcopal order, led by Thomas Arundel, then Bishop of Ely, later archbishop of Canterbury, was ready to take Despencer's side.

[43] Poole, p. 862.

attention to combatting the Lollard threat, and was the most severely orthodox Bishop in this period.[44]

Norwich was, thus, anything but a backwater. The size and importance of the city make it even more interesting that the Lady Julian's book reflects none of the turbulence of her day. Yet the Peasants' Rebellion directly involved the sisters of Carrow Priory. The Great Schism and Urbanist allegiance were, at least for a few years, major diocesan concerns. Even Lollardy was forced into the open in Norwich early and vigorously. Dame Julian must have known what was happening around her. Even if she were enclosed as early as 1373, she would not have been cut off from human intercourse,[45] and these were all events to interest such pious people as one would suppose composed her acquaintance. Not only did the troubles which beset the Church not affect the serene optimism of her book, they did not affect her faith in the Church. Who reading the Lady Julian's affirmation of the primary importance and authority of "the common teaching of Holy Church,"[46] would immediately advert to the de facto stiuation of the fourteenth century Church?[47]

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[44] Simkins, p. 245. William Sawtre, the first heretic burned under *De Haeretico Comburendo* had been chaplain at St. Margaret's *Lynn, Norfolk*. He appeared before the Bishop in 1399, and had been driven to London by 1401 (Cross, p. 1220).

Wycliffe had steadily and strongly opposed the Flemish "Crusade" (Poole, p. 862 for specific references). Despencer was just the type of bishop who would most offend the Lollards. On his activity against Wycliffe and his followers, see Walsingham, II, 189.

[45] Clay, p. xvi. We know from *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. by S. B. Meech and H. E. Allen (London: Early English Text Society, 1940), pp. 42-43, that Dame Julian did in fact receive visitors. While Margery Kempe's report of her own dialogue with the ancheress centers on Margery's spiritual experiences, we can well imagine that other visitors might make troublesome contemporary events part of their conversation.

Although Dame Julian does not tell us that she is an anchoress, we know this from other sources, chiefly the Amherst scribe. We do not know when she formally withdrew from the world: it may have been after the series of revelations of 1373, but it was probably before 1393. If we know nothing of her daily life from her own account, we do know a fair amount of the life which an anchoress was advised to lead. It must be emphasized that the anchorite was "subject to authority, and had a recognised place in the ecclesiastical system."[48] There was a solemn rite of enclosure which the bishop celebrated in the context of Mass when the anchorite was solemnly professed.[49] After their profession, anchorites were under no canonical rule and were not an order in the strict sense.[50] There were several books available as guidance for the enclosed, and one of them was almost always followed.[51] These "rules," including the thirteenth century Ancrene Riwle which was the most popular guide of the next two centuries, and the twelfth century Regula Inclusarum of Aelred of Rievaulx, were rather compendia of spiritual advice and devotion than regulations.[52] As most recluses were women, the greater part of the guides were designed for women, anchoresses.[53] It seems, as one would suppose, that the life of a recluse necessitated a great deal of personal contact with a suitable director, although we do not know in detail how this guidance was provided for.[54] We do not have any information at all as to who may have been the Lady Julian's spiritual director, but a woman dedicated to a religious life and living in a populous section of a cathedral city would not be without the regular spiritual direction presupposed by her way of life. The anchoress naturally spent much of her time in prayer and in meditation. Sermons and spiritual conversations furnished material for meditation, and the anchoress was advised to read as much as she was able.[55]

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[46] Revelations, p. 20. "Common" meant not only "usual" but "belonging to the community," The Oxford Dictionary of the English Language, from the Cursor Mundi, Wycliffe, the Usages of Winchester, and Chaucer.

[47] Meunier, p. xxv, suggests that her affirmation of the authority of the Church is meant as an anti-Lollard statement. The tone of Dame Julian's affirmations does not necessitate this conclusion, it seems to me.

[48] Clay, p. xvii.

[49] Clay, Appendix A, pp. 193-98, gives the Office from the Use of Sarum, p. 94 lists other manuals which give Offices for enclosure. Francis Darwin, The English Medieval Recluse (London: S.P.C.K., n.d.), pp. 71-78, describes enclosure and compares the Uses of York, Exeter, and Sarum to that of Hildesheim, see pp. 74-77.

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[50] See note 21, supra. Miss Clay explains the "Order of St. James" as meaning those who keep themselves from the world, p. 96.

[51] Clay, p. xvii.

[52] Clay, pp. 97-99, and Darwin, pp. 5-6, on books of instruction for anchoresses. Richard Rolle's Form of Perfect Living, and Hilton's Scale of Perfection were widely used.

[53] Darwin, p. 4, Clay, p. 74.

[54] Clay, p. 137. The Ancrene Riwle, p. 156.

The recluse, perhaps especially the recluse enclosed in a churchyard, was very much a part of the community, the parish. One writer has referred to the English anchorite as "a particularly pastoral form of the Carthusian ideal."[56] It seems a valid judgment. The Carthusian life of solitude in community finds a reflection in the solitary who was a visible and stable presence in the parish, a participant in the parish liturgy, and a reminder by her precept and even more by her example of the ideal of Christian life: the contemplation of God. On a secondary level, the recluse worked for the community in a material way, as in the recommendation that the anchoress sew for the poor and for the Church,[57] and in the consolation and advice she could provide to those who sought her out. Her more important task was to intercede for the community.[58] Most of all, she personified and made present that contemplative ideal.

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[55] The Ancrene Riwle, p. 129, and p. 196, where the anchoress is advised to read in the Riwle daily. Reading was recommended not only as a stimulus to meditation, but also as a prevention for acidie.

[56] Thornton, p. 104.

[57] The Ancrene Riwle, pp. 191-92. Aelred's Regula, chap. VI and chap. XI also recommends giving the fruit of the anchoress' labor to the poor or to the Church. It seems probable that needlework done for the Church would be a profitable occasion for meditation, especially should the anchoress be making or repairing the embroidered vestments or cloths which were worked with figures of Christ, His mother, and the saints. England had long been famed for such ecclesiastical embroidery, the opus Anglicanum. From an artistic point of view, the work of our period is generally inferior to the work of the thirteenth century.

To understand that ideal, we must first examine the meaning of contemplation. The essential elements have been given as a "vivid consciousness of the presence of God within and around us, a profound conviction that communion with Him takes place by prayer, and an intuitive certainty of Divine truth. . . ."[59] The modern tendency is to use the term in the context of mental prayer to refer to one

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Religious women still produced the embroideries, but a workshop system was also in use. The designs and iconology of the embroidered work closely resembled manuscript illumination. See A. F. Kendrick, *Illustrated Catalogue of the Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition of English Embroidery Executed Prior to the Middle of the XVI Century* (London: Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1905), pp. 13-43, the "Introduction." See also the series of articles by May Morris, "*Opus Anglicanum* at the Burlington Fine Arts Club," *Burlington Magazine*, VI (1904-1905), 278-85, 440-48, VII (1905), 54-65, 302-309.

The Ancrene Riwle cautions against over-involvement in housewifely chores for the anchoress' own or others' benefit, and against the unnecessary dispensation of hospitality, advising, for example, that she not keep cattle as this is a care which will turn her attention to worldly affairs, p. 190. And see Clay, pp. 139-40.

[58] Clay, p. xvi, cites Aelred's *Regula* which mentions these needs for which the anchoress should pray: the misery of the poor, orphans, widows, pilgrims, voyagers, soldiers, nuns and monks and bishops. See also *The Ancrene Riwle*, pp. 190-91.

[59] Inge, p. 15. Inge's Neo-Platonic orientation is especially evident in the third phrase.

phase of the mystical life,[60] whereas the earlier Western usage referred to the totality of the Christian endeavor to reach God.[61] It was "the standard teaching in the Catholic ages . . . that contemplation is the natural term of a spiritual life seriously lived, and is a thing to be desired, aspired to, aimed at, and not infrequently achieved by devout souls."[62] This understanding of contemplation was not incompatible with an active life in the Christian community. Indeed the ideal was not unlike what we call the mixed life: a life of active service rooted in consciousness of God.[63] Such were, on a grand scale, the lives of Dame Julian's contemporaries Bridget of Sweden (d. 1373) and Catherine of Siena (d. 1380). The mainstream of Catholic teaching has insisted that "by their fruits you shall know them." The Lady Julian told Margery Kempe that the criterion by which to judge one's spiritual state is charity, since that is the work of the Holy Spirit.[64] Perhaps the greatest of the medieval mystics, Jan Ruysbroeck (1293-1381), wrote:

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[60] Thus a modern text book can say, "Consciousness of the God-life is not synonymous with contemplation," Gustave Thils, *Christian Holiness: A Precis of Ascetical Theology* (Tielt, Belgium: Lannoo Publishers, 1961), p. 545. Evelyn Underhill, *Mysticism: A Study in the Nature and Development of Man's Spiritual Consciousness* (New York: World Publishing Co. Meridian Book, 1972), pp. 330-32, uses the term this way.

[61] Butler, pp. 2-3, points out that "contemplation" was once used where later "mysticism" was used, and links the use of the latter term with the medieval popularization of the Pseudo-Dionysius' *Mystical Theology* in the twelfth century. Molinari says that even though the Dionysian approach dominated European spirituality after the twelfth century, the older ideas remained influential, especially in England (p. 9). The use of "mysticism" meant, of course, that "contemplation" came to refer only to one aspect of the mystical life.

[62] Butler, p. 192. Dom Cuthbert discusses St. Augustine's teaching on the availability of contemplation to all, pp. 208-10, and St. Gregory's similar teaching, pp. 2 pp. 237-41.

[63] *Ibid.*, p. 276.

> When we unite ourselves to God by love then we are spirit: but when we are caught up and transformed by His Spirit, then we are led into fruition. And the spirit of God Himself breathes us out from Himself that we may love, and may do good works; and again He draws us into Himself, that we may rest in fruition. And this is Eternal Life; even as our mortal life subsists in the indrawing and outgoing of our breath.[65]

Ruysbroeck is here describing the summit of the mystical life, the transforming union, but the point is that the goal of that life was not the separation of the contemplative from the community.

This understanding of contemplation in terms of the whole Christian life within the community meant that the contemplative was not seen primarily as one who had withdrawn from the community. Rather she was by the very fact of her way of life bound to intercede for the community. She was, moreover, a living reminder of the ideal Christian, or, to change the phrase, a reminder and embodiment of the rudiments, the basics of Christianity. This most radical form of life was literally radical: she had withdrawn from the preoccupations of the world to work out her salvation by concentrating on the essentials. She was devoting her life to a concentration on what all Christians were bound to in some degree, committing herself to an attempt to reach the heights of the way which everyone had to begin. Ruysbroeck in The Adornment of the Spiritual Marriage analyzes the Christian Life in stages of the Active Life, the Interior Life, and the Superessential or Transfigured Life, corresponding to the elements of moral effort and good works, of religious illumination and surrender to love, of unity and fruition.[66] In The Sparkling Stone, Ruysbroeck begins by insisting that:

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[64] Margery Kempe, p. 43. Two hundred years later, St. Teresa of Avila wrote, "Works are the best proof that the favors which we receive have come from God," quoted from "The Seventh Mansion" by Underhill, p. 429.

[65] De septem gradibus amoris, cap. xiv, quoted by Underhill, p. 435. Dom Cuthbert Butler cites not only Ruysbroeck's figure of the "outflowing man," but also St. Bernard's concept of fecundity in this context, pp. 270-74, and also mentions St. Thomas. He sees this earlier idea in St. Teresa, especially in the "Seventh Mansion," but thinks that St. John of the Cross is much closer to the Eastern, Dionysian ideal of contemplation, pp. 274-75.

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[66] Jan van Ruysbroeck, The Adornment of the Spiritual Marriage, The Sparkling Stone, The Book of Supreme Truth, ed. by E. Underhill and trans. by C. A. Wynschenk (London: John M. Watkins, 1951), see Miss Underhill's "Introduction," pp. xxiii-xxxi. Miss Underhill points out that with the third stage "the circle is complete,"(p. xxx). Love pours from the Godhead as grace and draws us back to the Godhead, so that we are made part of the Loving activity (pp. xxx-xxxi). The active life is the equivalent of the traditional purgative way, the sphere of moral effort (p. xxiv), which every Christian must set out on. The purgation of the self was not a masochistic solisism, but an opening of the self to the Other, achieved first in concrete "good works." The Adornment of The Spiritual Marriage is a complete analysis of the mystical life, but not the fruit of Ruysbroeck's most mature thought (p. xiv). Quotations from these three treatises are from this edition, unless otherwise specified.

> The man who would live in the most perfect state of Holy Church must be a good and zealous man; an inward and ghostly man; an uplifted and God-seeing man; and an outflowing man to all in common.[67]

In Chapter XIV of this treatise, Ruysbroeck writes of "that Common Life which comes from the Contemplation and Fruition of God,"[68] of the "universal life which none can have . . . save the God-seeing man."[69]

> The man who is sent down by God from these heights into the world is full of truth and rich in all virtues. And he seeks not his own but the glory of Him Who has sent him. And hence he is just and truthful in all things, and he possesses a rich and a generous ground, which is set in the richness of God: and therefore he must always spend himself on those who have need of him. . . . And he is a living and willing instrument of God, with which God works whatsoever He wills and howsoever He wills; and these works he reckons not as his own, but gives all the glory to God. . . . And by this he possesses a universal life, for he is ready alike for contemplation and for action, and is perfect in both of them.[70]

The Common Life may be the same as the mixed life mentioned above, but the mixed life may proceed from the active human will, and this is usually the case when this phrase is used. The Common Life is a state in which the human will is passive, one becomes the "instrument of God."[71] In both cases, there is service to the community springing from service of God.

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[67] The Sparkling Stone, p. 181. Miss Underhill calls this treatise, with The Book of Supreme Truth and The Twelve Beguines the last and finest of Ruysbroeck's works, expressing his most mature thought (p. xiv). The Sparkling Stone recapitulates the essence of the Adornment, while clarifying the thought, especially on the question of the final union with God. In the Stone, Ruysbroeck examines the life of the faithful servant, the secret friend of God, and the hidden son of God (pp. 194-207, esp. pp. 196-99, 202, 205). St. Catherine of Siena uses the figures of servant, friend and son, too, see pp. 142-46, 150-51.

[68] This is the heading of Chapter XIV, p. 220.

[69] Ibid., p. 221.

[70] Ibid., pp. 220-21.

The constant and virtually unanimous teaching of the great contemplatives is that the soul who would know God must achieve detachment from self. The theme runs through the Flemish mystics, and is sounded also by the Germans. For example, the *Book of the Friends of God,* probably written by a Rhenish Dominican about 1350,[72] insists that detachment or spiritual poverty is the necessary prelude to the contemplation of God.[73] The Lady Julian seems to practice this teaching in her reticence about herself. She does present a most orthodox doctrine of prayer and contemplation, as we shall see, and an examination of this doctrine will enable us to explore the most important questions of whether Dame Julian is, in fact, a mystic in the highest sense of the word: did she enter into the transforming union?

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[71] This is pointed out by Ray C. Petry in his "Introduction" to *The Sparkling Stone in Late Medieval Mysticism*, ed. by Ray C. Petry, Vol. XIII of *The Library of Christian Classics*, ed. by Jn. Baillie, Jn. T. McNeill, H. P. van Dusen (26 vols.; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, n.d.), p. 290. Ruysbroeck is careful to point out that there is no loss of created being in the transforming union (Underhill edition, p. 205, pp. 208-12).

[72] A Friend of God, *The Book of the Poor in Spirit: A Guide to Rhineland Mysticism*, ed. by C. F. Kelley (New York: Harper and Brothers, n.d.), p. 3 and notes p. 274. The editor rejects Tauler's authorship, but acknowledges his influence.

[73] *Ibid.*, pp. 182-88, for example.

Whether or not she was an anchoress when she received her visions, whether or not she was a professed member of a religious order, Dame Julian was a woman who had seriously directed her attention toward God. She had asked Him for three favors, she tells us:

> The first was mind of His Passion [by a bodily sight]; the second was bodily sickness in youth, at thirty years of age; the third was to have of God's gift three wounds . . . that is to say, the wound of very contrition, the wound of kind[74] compassion, and the wound of steadfast[75] longing toward God.[76]

Even when making these requests, Dame Julian knew that what she really desired was the desire of God. She asked, therefore, for the first two benefits on condition that such be God's will, but the third petition she made unconditionally.[77] She did not seek the extraordinary phenomena of visions and sickness for their own sake, but:

> that after the shewing I should have the more true mind in the Passion of Christ, [and that] I would be purged, by the mercy of God, and afterward live more to the worship of God because of that sickness.[78]

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[74] The Middle English word "kynde" means natural, or, as a noun, nature. See Revelations, p. 5, note 1.

[75] In the mss., the word is "wilful," see Revelations, p. 5, note 2.

[76] Ibid., pp. 3 and 5. The first two petitions are elaborated on p. 4.

[77] Ibid., pp. 4-5.

[78] Ibid., p. 4. See Molinari pp. 13-16, on the purpose of the first two petitions.

Not only did she make the first two petitions conditionally, but she made them for the sake of the third. "The wound of steadfast longing toward God" is the "substantial desire" for God which, as Father Molinari says, is the essential element of Dame Julian's spiritual life.[79] This wound of desire cannot be inflicted before the antiseptic purging of sin by contrition and the baring or softening of the heart by compassion. Or one may say, to change the metaphor, that contrition and compassion are the weapons which inflict the wound of longing for God. In any event, the wounds are not of equal status, the first two being for the sake of the third, but the three together summing up the whole spiritual life.

> By contrition we are made clean, by compassion we are made ready, and by true longing toward God we are made worthy. These are three means, as I understand, whereby that all souls come to heaven.[80]

So Dame Julian wrote in describing her thirteenth revelation calling the three means then not wounds by medicines by which "it behoveth that every soul be healed."[81]

The Lady Julian's sense of what was really important was so clear and sound that she not only made the first two petitions conditionally, she even let them slip from her mind.[82] As time passed, her attention became increasingly fixed on the essential petition. By her own telling, however, Dame Julian was predisposed to the phenomena of sickness and visions. Could she not have produced these phenomena in herself by the strength of her desire for them? It is not sound method to argue simply from this predisposition or openness to the phenomena to the validity or invalidity of Dame Julian's "shewings."[83] The divine coefficient in any spiritual experience cannot be evaluated directly. The validity of Dame Julian's revelations must be judged by external criteria: do the revelations strengthen the will of the recipient, turn her to God and the community, or back on herself? Do they harmonize with the teaching of the Church? As the Lady Julian said to Margery Kempe, in the latter's words:

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[79] Molinary, p. 18.

[80] Revelations, p. 80.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Ibid., p. 5. When she tells us that at the time of her sickness she had forgotten the first two petitions,

> The anchoress, hearing the marvelous goodness of our Lord, highly thanked God with all her heart for His visitation, counseling this creature [Margery's common name for herself] to be obedient to the will of our Lord God and fulfill with all her mights whatever He put in her soul if it were not against the worship of God and profit of her even-Christians.[84]

As Father Molinari has indicated, the classic rules for the

Dame Julian may be implying that they had been made some time before. There is no need to postulate some "spiritual crisis" in which Dame Julian was driven to seek a "sign." Indeed, the serene tone of her book does not seem to spring from hard-fought battles. Again, it is a case where imagination can run free.

[83] Molinari, p. 23, note 1, examines the bibliography on the reliability of Dame Julian's visions.

[84] Margery Kempe, p. 42.

discernment of spirits are confirmed by modern psychology. "Beneficial psychic phenomena" tend to an increase of spiritual energy.[85] One of the great twentieth century authorities on mysticism, Miss Evelyn Underhill, calls this quality of "real transcendental activity" the "life-enhancing" quality.[86] Miss Underhill agrees with the most traditional teaching of Catholic theology when she says:

> Those visions and voices which are the *media* by which the "seeing self" truly approaches the Absolute; which are the formulae under which ontological perceptions are expressed; are found by that self to be sources of helpful energy, charity and courage. . . . Those which do not owe their inception to the contact of the soul with external reality--in theological language, do not "come from God"--do not have this effect.[87]

A reading of *The Revelations of Divine Love* acquaints the reader with a cheerful, thoughtful, sober and sincere, as well as generous and loving woman.[88] Dame Julian herself says that when she accepted the truth of what she had seen, she was "brought to great rest and peace, without sickness of body or dread of conscience."[89]

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[85] Molinary, pp. 26, 29-31, and p. 31, note 2. The classic authority on the discernment of spirits is St. Ignatius. Hugo Rahner, *Ignatius the Theologian*, trans. by M. Barry (New York: Herder and Herder, 1968), pp. 136-80, gives a brief, clear summary of the Ignatian doctrine in the context of patristic authorities and traditional theology. See pp. 152, 168-69, 176 for a discussion of Cassian's doctrine in the *Collations* which so influenced Western monasticism; p. 170 for reference to the fourteenth century *Vita Christi* of Ludolf of Saxony (d. 1378).

[86] Underhill, p. 270. [87] *Ibid*.

[88] Knowles, *English Mystical Tradition*, pp. 134-35, for the adjectives, but the impression is general among those who have studied Julian of Norwich.

Besides this life-enhancing quality, the "true vision" has, according to the traditional criteria, another quality: it is in conformity with the teaching of the Church. Father Molinari has examined the orthodoxy of Dame Julian's doctrine on prayer and contemplation, deciding that it "does not contain anything that would exclude or even dissuade from a divine origin."[90] This thesis will place Dame Julian's image of Christ in the context of the medieval Church teaching. Dame Julian explains why the special teaching of her Revelations of Divine Love necessarily conformed to the teaching of the Church:

> It is His Holy Church: He is the Ground, He is the Substance, He is the Teaching, He is the Teacher. . . .[91]

The teaching of the Church was to be held firmly. Indeed, the shewings inspired Dame Julian to love and understand that teaching better.[92] As Walter Hilton wrote, one must have "secure troth in all articles of the faith, and the sacraments of Holy Church."[93] Dame Julian is not only affirming that she saw nothing which was not consonant with the teaching of the Church, but she is insisting that what she was shown she was shown just because she was part of the Mystical Body of the Church.

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[89] Revelations, p. 167. [90] Molinari, p. 198.

[91] Revelations, pp. 69-70.

[92] Ibid., pp. 67, 97. This insistence on firm adherence to the Church with no tendency to "spiritualize" the Church seems to be typically Benedictine.

[93] Walter Hilton, The Scale of Perfection, ed. by E. Underhill (London: John M. Watkins, 1948), p. 47. Thornton, p. 184. Again, the classic Catholic statement of the relation of "spiritual insights" to the teaching of

> This [thirteenth] shewing I took singularly to myself; but I was learned to take it for all mine even-Christians: *all in general and nothing in special*. . . . What may make me more to love mine even-Christians than to see in God that He loveth all that shall be saved as it were all one soul?[94]

Dame Julian's insistence on the harmony of her "shewings" with the faith of the Church is not just an affirmation of orthodoxy. When she affirms that God showed her:

> two workings, the one is seeking, the other is beholding, [of which the] seeking is common,--that every soul may have with His grace,--and ought to have that discretion and teaching of the Holy Church,[95]

she is affirming the contiguity of the mystical vision with the faith of the engraced Christian. As has been said by a recent editor of the *Revelations of Divine Love*, "'Seeking is as good as beholding' and whether the Lord

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the Church is that of Ignatius Loyola, especially as given in the *Rules for Thinking with the Church*. Father Rahner summarizes the Ignatian doctrine, pp. 214-38.

[94] *Revelations*, p. 76, and see p. 74. Also: "That which I say of me, I say in the person of all mine even-Christians" (p. 19). Evelyn Underhill, *The Mystics of the Church* (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1925), pp. 18-20, describes the relationship of the mystics to the Church as one of the drawing from and then nourishing that Church.

[95] *Revelations*, p. 25.

gives the finding here or hereafter is all one, as long as we seek 'busily and without sloth.'"[96] Insofar as the soul is "in the state of grace," it is participating in the divine life. The mystical vision or "finding" is a deepening, qualitatively, of that participation[97]: engraced participation in the divine life is fulfilled in the transfiguring union with the divine: deification.

Father Molinari has undertaken a study of the Lady Julian's doctrine of prayer and contemplation, and has shown that she is well within the orthodox stream of Catholic mysticism.[98] Dame Julian describes the earlier stages of prayer rather briefly in chapters thirty-nine and forty of the Revelations, summarizing in these chapters the traditional doctrine on the "second conversion": the turning of the professed and practicing Christian's attention from creation to the Creator, in Ruysbroeck's terms, the leaving of God's service to enter His friendship. Dame Julian says: "We are raised well-high in God's sight by His grace, with so great contrition, and also compassion, and true longing to God,"[99] making it clear that it is an impulse of God's grace which moves us to the contrition and compassion which make us "clean and ready" and longing for God.[100] In the second book of the Scale of Perfection, we read that the soul may be reformed, formed anew to the image of God, in faith, and this is sufficient for salvation, or in feeling, and this is a long, laborious process, but has "passing meed" in heaven.[101] This reformation in feeling is stimulated by the feelings of compunction and devotion which are given to the soul because of its weakness.[102] Having been converted, the soul must then purify itself, and Dame Julian briefly describes this Way of Purgation in these two chapters, but it is in chapter five that she most clearly states the motive of the purgation: "no soul is rested till it is made nought as to all."[103] God showed her the world the size of a hazel nut, and Dame Julian understood that "to a soul that seeth the Maker of all, all that is made seemeth full little."[104] The purpose of detachment is to concentrate all one's energy in desiring God, and conversely, the more one fixes one's attention on God, the more detached one is from things made. The preliminary stage of penance and purification, the Purgative Way, has its fruition in that longing for God which Dame Julian insisted on even before her shewings. This longing is an engraced impulse, in Dame Julian's words, "the natural yearnings of the soul by the touching of the Holy Ghost."[105] It is precisely the realization of God's lovingness which stirs the desire for Him, and in this "union of desire"[106] the soul's will to have God is a response to His will to have her.

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[96] Walsh, p. 8. The quotations from Dame Julian are on pp. 24 and 25 of Warrack's edition.

[97] Compare Ruysbroeck's description of the development of the life of the hidden son of God in contrast to that of the secret friend of God, Sparkling Stone, pp. 192-99. Molinari, p. 135, refers to Augustine, John of the Cross, St. Teresa, Ignatius. See also Butler, pp. 49-50.

[98] Molinari, p. vi, note 1, says that the "great mystics echo one another," a phenomenon often mentioned by writers on mysticism. Throughout his evaluation of Dame Julian, Molinari has particular reference to St. John of the Cross and St. Teresa of Avila.

The analysis of Dame Julian's doctrine in this chapter follows Father Molinari's.

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[99] Revelations, p. 80.

[100] See p. 101, supra. Molinari cites St. Benedict, St. Catherine of Siena, Henry Suso and Johann Tauler on the second conversion (p. 80, note 1). For a modern treatment, see R. Garrigou-Lagrange, Les trois ages de la vie intérieure (Paris, 1938), II, chap. 3, pp. 38-50, cited by Molinari.

[101] Hilton, p. 24.

[102] Ibid., pp. 252-53.

[103] Revelations, p. 11, in the mss.: "nowtid of." Molinari, pp. 88-89.

In chapters forty-one, forty-two and forty-three, Dame Julian describes the "union of wills,"[107] which is the fruit of the union of desire. It is prayer which "oneth the soul to God," and thus is the practical means of fulfilling the soul's longing for God.[108]

> Prayer is a witness that the woul willeth as God willeth; and it comforteth the conscience and enableth man to grace. . . . The soul

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[104] Revelations, p. 18. Molinari, pp. 89-92. This is the quotation from St. Gregory.

[105] Revelations, p. 11. Dame Julian never really concerns herself with other than the engraced Christian.

[106] Molinari, p. 96. [107] Ibid.

[108] Revelations, p. 90. Molinari, pp. 100-103. For Dame Julian, "prayer" always means unitive prayer (ibid., p. 99).

by prayer accordeth to God..[109]

Attachment to God presupposes and promotes detachment from creatures, but the attachment or attraction to God also leads the soul to a detachment from itself. The prayer which "oneth the soul to God" is caused by God: "I am the Ground of thy beseeching," Christ tells Dame Julian.[110] And this beseeching is "a true, gracious lasting will of the soul, oned and fastened into the will of our Lord by the sweet inward work of the Holy Ghost."[111] By fixing her attention on God, Dame Julian knows herself; she can never fully know herself, therefore, until the "last point" when she will be with God.[112] She knows herself as existing in, and insofar as she is in, God: "our Substance is in God."[113] Dame Julian's realization of this truth begins with the realization that God is the Ground of her beseeching, the cause of her prayer.[114] She sees her dependence on God and His love of her as two sides of the same coin. Realizing that He is the Ground of her prayer, she knows that that prayer can only bear the fruit of union with Him. She fixes her attention not on the self which wills to be united with God, but on the cause of that will, the will of the Lord.[115]

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[109] Revelations, p. 90. "And also to prayer belongeth thanksgiving" (p. 99), by which is meant enjoying and thanking God.

[110] Ibid., p. 84. [111] Ibid., p. 85.

[112] Ibid., p. 96.

[113] Ibid., p. 133. By "substance" is meant the higher self in contrast to the sensual self, or soul in relation to the body on earth (Warrack, p. 208).

[114] Molinari, p. 103: "The idea of God being the cause of our prayer (which is the source of real trust), as well as the idea of God expecting this trust as His proper glorification are at the root of . . . the most typical and important teaching of Julian in the spiritual life: viz. the full detachment from self by fixing the eyes on God."

In the progressive unification of the soul with God, the "union of wills" or "union of obedience" in which the soul makes itself "supple and buxom to God"[116] is the necessary prelude to the fuller union with God. If the union of desire can be assimilated to the Purgative Way, can the union of wills be assimilated to the Illuminative Way?

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[115] Here an important reservation must be entered. When Dame Julian writes of unitive prayer, she uses the language of the Ground. But in a total reading of the Revelations of Divine Love, one realizes that this Ground is the Person Christ, as can be seen in the full passage: "Our Lord . . . said: I am Ground of thy beseeching: first it is my will that thou have it; and after, I make thee to will it; and after, I make thee to beseech it and thou beseechest it" (Revelations, p. 84). The language of the Ground in Dame Julian refers to a relationship of two wills, and does not have all of the metaphysical implications which the language might suggest.

There are two basic modes of apprehension of the Divine, as the Absolute Godhead or as the Personal God. Both modes are found among Christian mystics, the difference being one of emphasis and temperament, since the Christian God is transcendent and Incarnate (Underhill, Mysticism, p. 344, see pp. 337-44). Dame Julian is a woman who experiences the intimate, homely love of her courteous Lord, a personal rather than a transcendental experience: her love comes down to her, rather than raising her above herself. This personal experience is why, despite her reticence about herself, her book has such a personal tone.

[116] Revelations, p. 91.

> All . . . states of mystic consciousness in which the sense of I-hood persists, in which there is a loving and joyous relation between the Absolute as object and the self as subject, fall under the head of Illumination. . . . All veritable and first-hand apprehensions of the Divine obtained by the use of symbols . . .; all the degrees of prayer lying between meditation and the prayer of union . . ., are activities of the illuminated mind. . . . The real distinction between the Illuminative and the Unitive Life is that in Illumination the individuality of the subject--however profound his spiritual consciousness, however close his apparent union with the Infinite--remains separate and intact.[117]

This is the sphere of what Ruysbroeck in the Adornment of Spiritual Marriage calls the Interior Life.[118] In the Sparkling Stone, he describes this as the state of the "inward and ghostly man."[119] This is the "secret friend of God" who dwells in "loving adherence to God," keeping all His counsels.[120] But he retains his selfhood:

> [He values] the gifts of God, and also [his] own inward works, and the solace and sweetness which [he feels] within; and thus [he rests] upon the way, and [does] not so wholly die to [himself], as to be able to attain the highest beatitude in bare and wayless love.[121]

The loving adherence to God is certainly the "soul by prayer accordeth to God," the oneing of the soul to God in prayer. In the union of obedience there is no question of a loss of the self. The soul is illuminated, irradiated by what Mechtild of Magdeburg (d. 1299) called _das fliessende Licht der Gottheit_, and in this Light the soul sees God, but sees Him as Other.[122] This is the point when the soul sees God, but does not rest in possession of Him. As Dame Julian says, "the more the soul seeth of God, the more it desireth Him by His grace."[123] This illumination is not simply an intellectual enlightenment. It is an illumination of the personality:

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[117] Underhill, Mysticism, pp. 234, 246.

[118] The Adornment of Spiritual Marriage, Book II. And see Underhill's "Introduction," pp. xxiv-xxvi.

[119] The Sparkling Stone, pp. 181; 182-83, also.

[120] Ibid., pp. 195-96.

[121] Ibid., p. 199.

> He willeth that we know [that we shall live in longing and enjoying] by the sweet gracious light of His kind love.[124]

Nor does this illumination end faith: "our faith is a light," as Dame Julian says.[125]

Father Molinari analyzes Dame Julian's quest for God into three stages.[126] First is the movement of the soul to God, the union of desire which in the most general sense is unitive prayer. Second is simple expectancy when the soul is bound to God in the union of wills but still awaiting His presence.[127] The third stage is trust or

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[122] Compare St. Augustine, _Confessions_, Bk. VIII, Chap. XVII. St. Thomas discusses the _lumen gloriae_, _Summa Theologiae_, I, q. 12, a. 5.

[123] _Revelations_, p. 91. [124] _Ibid_., p. 198.

[125] _Ibid_., p. 25. See also p. 199 and p. 97.

[126] Molinari, pp. 122-23. _Revelations_, p. 25.

[127] Molinari, pp. 124-26. Reference is made here to St. John of the Cross, but I am not certain that St. John of the Cross is the best model by which to understand Dame Julian. However, at this stage, he is not unhelpful.

"abandonment," the soul still bound in obedience, but turning its "simple attention" to God.[128] The second two stages are the beginnings of infused contemplation,[129] and at the third stage the soul is illuminated. Illuminations are "luminous understandings . . . which are not the same as the open vision of God," but which confer a real insight into the divine, an insight which kindles the desire for the Beatific Vision.[130]

The Illuminative Way is, then, the sphere in which one speaks properly of contemplation. The union of the wills leads to the contemplation of God, to what Dame Julian calls beholding.

> But when the courteous Lord of His grace sheweth Himself to our soul, we have that [which] we desire. And then we see not, for the time, what we should more pray, but all our intent with all our might is set wholly to the beholding of Him. And this is an high unperceivable prayer . . .: for all the cause wherefore we pray, it is oned into the sight and beholding of Him to whom we pray; marvellously enjoying with reverent dread, and with so great sweetness and delight in Him that we can pray right nought but as He stirreth us, for the time.[131]

There are, Dame Julian's experience, two types of beholding, that which is in "special shewings" and that which is not.[132]

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[128] Molinari, p. 123. [129] Ibid.

[130] Ibid., p. 129. Illuminations are, of course, not visions.

[131] Revelations, p. 90. This passage occurs in chap. XLIII, immediately after the description of prayer as "according the soul to God," and before the affirmation that the more clearly the soul sees God, the more it desires Him.

> But this marvelous homeliness [of God's loving] may no man fully see in this time of life, save he have it of special shewing of our Lord, or of great plenty of grace inwardly given of the Holy Ghost.[133]

This idea is stated in the description of the first revelation, but it is most clearly developed in the second revelation. This second shewing was "low and little and simple," and in discussing it, in Dame Julian explains that there is a beholding which is not special shewing.[134] The soul receives illuminations because "He willeth to be perceived."[135] The "luminous understandings," as Father Molinari calls them, which are the inward graces of the Holy Ghost rather than extraordinary phenomena are "the very stuff of mystical union with God."[136] This beholding which is not special showing is a deepening of faith, hope and charity,[137] and so of that participation in the divine life which is grace. It is what theologians call active or acquired contemplation: the Soul's own activity is engaged. It is an "infused motion" insofar as it is caused by grace, but the soul is not immediately aware of the divine intervention.[138] The soul is still seeking and has not attained to the "clearness of finding."[139] The finding fills the soul with joy, but it is the seeking which pleases God and is rewarded by the beholding which is not special showing. It is the attachment to or union with God which is essential. In the seeking the soul is active, it penetrates the truths of faith,[140] and moves toward the divine, but it can only act so because the Holy Spirit inspires it. Nonetheless, it is conscious not of that inspiration but of its own activity. What Dame Julian calls the seeking is not the same thing as the desire of God, but follows on that desire. The seeking is itself a beholding "in our own meek continuant prayer."[141] One sees the "marvelous homeliness" not only by "special shewing" but also by "great plenty of grace inwardly given by the Holy Ghost." And this "great plenty of grace" lasts while the special showing does not, which is to say, in Father Molinari's words, that the beholding which is not special showing, or active contemplation, is the "normal food of the soul,"[142] of the mystic.

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[132] See Molinari, pp. 104, 118.

[133] Revelations, p. 17. [134] Ibid., p. 23.

[135] Ibid., p. 25.

[136] Molinari, p. 129. It may be that the "inward teaching" which Dame Julian had after her revelations (Revelations, p. 110), were the beholding which is not special shewing, but rather natural to the mystics.

[137] Revelations, p. 17.

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[138] Molinari, pp. 143-44. Usually "infused contemplation" is a term reserved as synonymous with passive contemplation, but it is also true that active contemplation is imperceptibly infused into the soul.

[139] Revelations, p. 24. [140] Molinari, p. 118.

[141] Revelations, p. 91.

[142] Father Molinari says that Dame Julian's analysis of this contemplation which is not special showing is her most important contribution to the theory of spirituality (p. 196).

This beholding which is also seeking takes place precisely in the Church. Thus, one may refer to the beholding which is special showing and the beholding which is not special showing, which is seeking, which is the teaching of the Church:

> I had two manner of beholdings. The one was . . . the shewing. The other was of the common teaching of Holy Church.[143]

Besides active contemplation, Dame Julian describes the "beholding which is special showing." This is what is called by theologians infused or passive contemplation.[144] In this state, "the soulfeels and follows the movement by which God, taking her captive and fulfilling all her faculties, draws her 'into Him by love.'"[145] In this state, the soul becomes aware of revelations which are described, somehow properly, as "illuminations," "special shewings," the sight of God. The special showing is not something for which one can prepare,[146] and it is not the Beatific Vision, although it does exceed the natural human, earthly experience.

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[143] Revelations, p. 97.

[144] Butler, p. 105 documents the classic understanding of infused contemplation from St. Augustine, St. Gregory, St. Bernard.

Molinari, p. 113, note 2, shows that St. Teresa, St. John of the Cross and Dame Julian are in accord despite the differences in terminology.

[145] Molinari, p. 112. Revelations, p. 91: "when we of His special grace plainly behold Him . . ., then we follow Him and He draweth us unto Him by love."

[146] St. Augustine, St. Gregory and St. Bernard agree that the grace of contemplation follows on the effort of meditation in the ordinary course, see Molinari, p. 116.

> For [homely and fully] may no man see God and live after, that is to say, in this deadly life. But when He of His special grace will shew Himself here, He strengtheneth the creature above its self. . . .[147]

The sight of God here given remains on the level of faith, an organic development of faith, a "knowledge connatural to us,"[148] although infused by the Holy Ghost. This beholding which is special showing is the "clearness of finding" which sheds light on the truths taught by the Church and held in faith, a clarity surpassing the understanding which is attained in active contemplation.[149] Further, the perception of God's presence working in the soul results in great joy and sweetness, whereas in active contemplation, because the soul does not perceive God's movement in her, she is conscious of her own labor.[150] The essence of contemplation is the work of God in the soul, His presence and inspiration, but in passive contemplation the soul perceives the divine presence and, therefore, enjoys clarity and delight. In neither beholding which is not special showing, nor in beholding which is special showing, is there any question of a knowledge of God which prescinds from grace, His presence in the soul and the soul's response to Him. When Dame Julian writes of seeking and of finding, she is analyzing the soul's relationship to God, a unifying relationship in both cases. Although she did in fact receive special showings, she always knew that these were not essential to her relationship with God: "Because of the Shewing I am not good, but if I love God the better."[151]

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[147] Revelations, p. 92. [148] Molinari, p. 114.

[149] Ibid., p. 120. Dame Julian describes the relation of the shewings to faith in the Church's teachings: "By the Shewing I was not stirred nor led therefrom in no manner of point, but I had therein teaching to love it and find it good: whereby I might, by the help of our Lord and His grace, increase and rise to more heavenly knowing and higher loving" (Revelations, p. 97).

[150] Molinari, p. 120 and p. 109.

The understanding of the divine which is given in the special showings is beyond the ordinary grasp of the soul and therefore it is ineffable, but the form of the revelations can be described insofar as they "[take their] shape from suggestions already present in the mind of the seer."[152] It is the utilization of the mind's own concepts and precepts, ideas and images which makes possible any communication between the mystic and her even-Christians, just as it is this utilization which makes an historical approach to the mystic valid and necessary. It is a mark of the Illuminative way that God shows Himself in symbols, although the illuminated, inward man does not make images to which he clings.[153] The inward man must be open to the symbolic self-revelation of the Divine, while simultaneously realizing the inadequacy of the symbol. The "visions" or illuminations are the Mystic's acute perception of the symbols in which God reveals Himself, "the outward sign of a real experience."[154] The self is still conscious of herself, still not united to God in the union without difference, and so God "speaks to" her in symbols.

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[151] Revelations, p. 20. Special showing is not limited to those who have already entered into a certain relationship with God. The "second conversion" may be caused or occasioned by a "vision": the example which leaps to mind is that of St. Paul on the road to Damascus. It is not impossible that the sixteen revelations which she received in 1373 were the motivation which impelled the Lady Julian to devote herself to the contemplative life in an anchorhold, although she was not heedless of God before this: "the third desire dwelled with me continually" (Revelations, p. 5). On the other hand, some of what Dame Julian writes does not fit easily into any elementary state of mystical enlightenment. This element of her book may be the result of the twenty years of "inward teachings" which she had before she wrote.

[152] Underhill, Mysticism, p. 269.

Father Molinari has discussed the relationship of Dame Julian's visions or special showings to the classic analysis of such extraordinary phenomena.[155] Dame Julian herself says that what she saw, "was shewed by three ways: that is to say, by bodily sight, and by word formed in mine understanding, and by ghostly sight."[156] When she explains the actual process of the showing, Dame Julian tells us that in some cases, "the sight was shewed doubly . . .: the one part was shewed ghostly in bodily likeness, and the other part was shewed more ghostly without bodily likeness."[157] For purposes of classification, then, we have bodily sights, sights showed ghostly in bodily likeness and more ghostly without bodily likeness, and ghostly sights.[158]

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[153] See Ruysbroeck, The Sparkling Stone, p. 183.

[154] Underhill, Mysticism, p. 271. It is most properly in the Illuminative Way that the mystic is spoken of as seeing visions, since these special showings are illuminations of the mystic by the divine light. The visions are not, however, necessarily pictorial, but may be intellectual illuminations.

[155] Molinari, p. 60, note 1, points out that St. John of the Cross applied the classification derived from prophecy to mystical theology in the Ascent of the Cross, II, chap. II.

[156] Revelations, p. 21.

The obvious terminological similarities of Dame Julian's description of the types of showings which she had to the classical classification of corporeal, imaginative and ghostly visions may be misleading. Corporeal visions are real perceptions of the stimulation of the external senses.[159] But Dame Julian's bodily sights may be imaginative visions in which the divine action works on the internal senses, a possibility certainly suggested in the fourth revelation, where the Lady Julian says that the blood flowed from the Crucified so plenteously that "methought if it had been so in kind and in substance at that time, it should have made the bed all one blood, and have passed over about."[160] Imaginative visions belong in the sphere of the senses and can be quite vivid since the "divine intervention can infuse into the interior senses phantasms . . . which are indistinguishable from those acquired through the stimulation of the exterior senses."[161] There is at least a good chance that the bodily sights were not technically corporeal, but were rather imaginative visions of objects which would be perceptible to the external senses.

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[157] *Ibid*., p. 107.

[158] Molinari, pp. 67-69, suggests a parallel series of auditions: dialogues resembling conversation, as in chapter 22 and chapter 25 (pp. 47 and 53), but which are not always external, as when Dame Julian was shown that the Passion is the overcoming of the devil: "Then He, without voice and opening of lips formed in my soul these words: 'Herewith is the Fiend overcome,'" (p. 31); words formed in her soul during a ghostly showing as in chapter 26, but which surpass understanding and cannot be declared, just as the joy they cause surpasses all desire: "The number of the words passeth my wit and all my understanding and all my powers" (p. 55). There may also be, Father Molinari suggests, intermediate auditions, as in the first revelation when Dame Julian looks at the hazel nut and wonders how it lasts: "And I was answered in my understanding: 'It lasteth and ever shall for that God loveth it'" (p. 10). Here we seem to have a ghostly understanding, as in chapter 25, but one communicated in words which can be repeated. The "word formed in mine understanding" seems to be not a simple reference to auditions in contrast to visions, but a reference to an intermediate type of illumination which was ghostly but not without imaginative form. The Lady Julian is not writing a technical treatise on revelatory phenomena with clear distinctions between visual and auditory occurrences nor among the types of each. She is concerned, as has been said before with the content of the showings, not with how she received them or responded to them.

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[159] Molinari, pp. 61, 62-63. The stimuli may be real objects or objects formed in the air, or changes in the light rays or acoustical vibrations which impinge on the sense organ.

[160] Revelations, p. 29. Molinari, p. 63.

[161] Molinari, p. 63. Karl Rahner points out that corporeal visions can occur, but in any given case it is hard to prove they did occur ("Uber Visionen und verwandte Erscheinungen," Geist und Leben, XXI [1948], 190, cited by Molinari, p. 63, note 2). St. Teresa says that her visions which seemed corporeal were in fact imaginative (The Sixth Mansion of The Interior Castle, chap. 9, cited by Molinari, p. 63, note 3, where he also cited St. Teresa's Life, chap. 28).

The sights "ghostly in bodily likeness and more ghostly without bodily likeness" form an organic whole, not two sights. The bodily likeness referred to is the infusion of a phantasm not representing a sense object as in an imaginative vision, but presenting a parable or allegory. The mind does not grasp the full significance of the ghostly sight in this bodily likeness (phantasm), and in a second moment "the 'species' already present to the mind . . . are re-presented by God in a new and superior *i.e.*, ghostly light."[162] This intermediate sight corresponds to that type of intellectual vision in which God uses intelligible species already present to the soul, accompanying the vision with a phantasm.[163] As the species is natural to the mystic, this vision can be in some fashion communicated. Clearer understanding of the vision can be infused over a period of time.[164]

The classical intellectual vision has as its object a spiritual reality not perceivable by the senses. This reality may be revealed first dimly "in bodily likeness" and then elucidated not in bodily likeness, but still in intelligible species present to the soul. There is, however, another type of intellectual vision in which the spiritual object is revealed not in intelligible species but in a purely intellectual species, and which results in a preternatural mode of knowledge: this corresponds to Dame Julian's ghostly sight. It is the "sudden introduction . . . of an entirely new intellectual apprehension . . . [which] can only be explained by the direct infusion of new intellectual species."[165] The new species must be meaningful to the mystic, but is such that only a divine intervention can cause it. This makes the resultant vision virtually impossible of description.

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[162] Molinari, p. 66. This whole discussion is from pp. 65-66 of Molinari.

[163] *Ibid*., pp. 64, 67.

[164] This type of intellectual vision is reminiscent of acquired contemplation since it uses already present mental contents, but it is properly described as a form of infused contemplation since the phantasm and the intelligible species are infused by God directly. Clarity demands precision here, but we may remember that in the spiritual life of a real person such categories are less important than a study of spiritual life may suggest, as in both acquired and infused contemplation the Holy Ghost is working. The difference, to repeat what has been said before, is not in the essential element, the grace, but in the effects of clarity and joy produced in the soul.

All three of Dame Julian's showings are types of "beholding which is special shewing." She is describing not analyzing how God showed her what He showed her, her interest in the how being not at all as great as her interest in the what. Father Molinari indicates, and I think satisfactorily, the relationship of the scheme which we can draw from Dame Julian to the scheme elaborated by theologians and based chiefly on those mystics whose interest is in the relationship between God and the soul. Quite probably nothing in Dame Julian's book corresponds

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[165] _Ibid._, pp. 64-65.

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to corporeal visions. Her bodily sights are probably imaginative visions. Her sights ghostly in bodily likeness begin with a phantasm and develop into sights more ghostly and without bodily likeness or phantasm, the whole belonging properly in the realm of intellectual visions in intelligible species accompanied by a phantasm. The ghostly sights which Dame Julian describes are intellectual visions in intellectual species.[166] In the years after the special showings, she had "teaching inwardly," and these enlightenments, specifically as to the meaning of the fourteenth revelation and as to the purpose of the whole,[167] seem to have been special showings. But if anything can be assumed about Dame Julian, it is that these showings took place in the contaxt of constant beholding which is not special showing, active contemplation, the normal stuff of mystical union. The fruits of this contemplation were incorporated into the Lady's discussion of her revelations, which were obviously the source of much meditation for her.[168]

It has been said that "Christianity is basically mystical,"[169] meaning that to live as a Christian is to participate in the divine life, this participation being the basic definition of sanctifying grace. But this participation is only the beginning. It is meant to develop as one learns to desire the participation, to desire union with God, then to obey His will so truly that one's own will is bound to His. At this stage, one must be purged of attachment to creatures and to one's own will. As the Christian matures, he becomes increasingly aware of God as a lovable Person in Himself. This is when the soul is inspired to begin looking at, beholding, contemplating God, as He is known from the proclamation of the Church. Sometimes the soul receives a further, special grace which makes it aware of the inspiration, of the presence of the One it contemplates. The Lady Julian seems to have received this grace. The criteria by which this judgment can be made are two: the effect on her spiritual state of the supposed grace, that is, the peace and security and energy with which she was filled; the impulse to share her grace with her even-Christians whose Church-taught faith she shared.

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[166] _Ibid_., p. 67 for a diagram placing Dame Julian's sights in the traditional _schema_.

[167] _Revelations_, pp. 110 and 202.

[168] Knowles, _English Mystical Tradition_, p. 125.

[169] Thils, p. 542. This textbook summarizes standard teaching.

There is, however, a further stage of development possible, in which the mystic is aware not of God's presence to himself, but only of God. This is the point at which the mystic says most fully, "I live now, not I, but Christ lives in me." This is what Ruysbroeck calls the "Love that is wayless."[170] At this point, one is no longer a hidden friend, but is a secret son of God, in Ruysbroeck's phrase.

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[170] The Sparkling Stone, p. 186, p. 198.

> In our approach to God, we must carry with us ourselves and all our works as a perpetual sacrifice to God; and in the Presence of God [as sons], we must forsake ourselves and all our works, and, dying in love go forth from all creatureliness into the superessential richness of God: there we shall possess God in an eternal death to ourselves.[171]

Ruysbroeck puts the dying of self in perspective:

> But [His] inward-drawing touch draws us out of ourselves, and calls us to be melted and noughted in the Unity. And in this inward-drawing touch, we feel that God wills us to be His; and therefore, we must renounce ourselves and leave Him to work our blessedness.[172]

The self is forsaken so that God may work the final blessedness, which is the fulfillment of the self. We cannot, Ruysbroeck has said, lose our created being, but if we would live wholly in ourselves, we would be unblessed and unhappy. There is but one life, and it must be lived, ideally, wholly in God and simultaneously wholly in oneself.[173] Unlike the active purification of the Way of Purgation, this death of the self is a passive purification: "We must leave God to work our blessedness." As Walter Hilton says:

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[171] Ibid., p. 202. See p. 198. Ruysbroeck was well aware of the dangers inherent in speaking of the unspeakable union between the transformed soul and God. Chapter 10 of The Sparkling Stone examines and clarifies the question of "How we, though one with God, must eternally remain other than God." Here the Flemish mystic goes back to sum up the whole Christian life from "feeling God in His grace" (p. 208), to the highest feeling, when "we feel ourselves to be one with God . . . in the immersion in love" (p. 209), a feeling which cannot last (p. 210), but which is the "storm of love" (p. 211).

[172] Ibid., p. 211. See also p. 203: "When we go towards God by means of the virtues, God dwells in us; but when we go out from ourselves and from all else, then we dwell in God." But God does not absorb us when we dwell in Him. Ruysbroeck is concerned, of course, to avoid the danger of pantheism which Eckhart (d. 1327), had at least closely skirted. See also Johann Tauler, The Inner Way: Being Thirty-Six Sermons for Festivals, trans. by A. W. Hutton (3rd ed.; London, 1909), pp. 204-205, cited by Underhill, Mysticism, p. 400.

> For then is love master, and worketh in the soul, and maketh it for to forget itself, and for to see and behold only how love doth. And then is the soul more suffering than doing, and that is clean love.[174]

The forsaking of self is the negative aspect of the transforming union, so that the mystic can then say, "The spirit of God is within me." The principle of activity is no longer the self but God, and the mystic is living the deified life.[175]

> Where we go forth out of ourselves into darkness and the abysmal Waylessness, there shines perpetually the simple ray of the Splendor of God, in which we are grounded, and which draws us out of ourselves into the superessence, and into the immersion of love.[176]

The soul passes through the Dark into the Splendor, and Ruysbroeck is describing an entrance which at least begins in this life. Dame Julian writes that, "no soul is rested until it is noughted of all things that are made. When it is willingly made nought for love, to have Him that is all, then is it able to receive spiritual rest."[177] This is, however, a reference to the purification of the soul from attachment to creatures. It seems that Dame Julian considers that full self-knowledge and self-possession is had in God, but that this is not achieved until death.[178] God is the Ground, but, as has been pointed out before, the context makes it clear that what is at question is a relationship between two wills. Did Dame Julian pass through the "Dark Night of the Soul"? Did she enter into the transforming union? She does not instruct us in her spiritual autobiography, so it is hard to make a certain evaluation of her state. The situation is further complicated if we observe that the infused intellectual vision of God may cause such joy and awareness in the mystic as to provide at least a temporary taste of the transforming union. And the increase of spiritual energy which is the result of contemplation, the overflowing love on one's fellow Christians which is seen in the illuminated soul is intensified in the Unitive Way. It certainly must be said that at least nothing in Dame Julian's book demands the conclusion that she had entered on the Unitive Way, although the possibility cannot be ruled out.[179]

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[173] Sparkling Stone, p. 205.

[174] Hilton, The Scale of Perfection, p. 385.

[175] Underhill, Mysticism, p. 175: "The completed mystical life is theopathetic." The classic expression of the forsaking of self is St. John's Dark Night of the Soul, so much more searing than the Dark Night of the Senses.

[176] Sparkling Stone, p. 204. Notice that the Darkness and Light symbolism here is a negative-positive contrast. But see Butler, p. 181 on the influence of Dionysius on Ruysbroeck. Still, it does not seem that the Fleming uses the dark in the exact sense of the "divine dark," which the Areopagite chooses as a symbol.

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[177] Revelations, p. 11. [178] Ibid., p. 92.

The Lady Julian, this East Anglian woman of whose life we know virtually nothing, is a true mystic of the Church: she knows the "Prayer that oneth us to God." There is, as is so bafflingly often the case with Dame Julian, no way of ascertaining what she knew of the mystical literature available in her England,[180] but her Revelations of Divine Love belong in the tradition of the great medieval mystics. She certainly does show that she was not an ignorant woman, even if she may not have been technically learned. She had pondered the sixteen revelations which she had received, had brought her mind to bear on them. The English anchoress was meant to live a life of habitual recollection, that is of concentration, of attention, of constant advertence to the presence of Christ. It was within this context that she made her formal meditations. This habitual, stable, homely recollection is a characteristically Benedictine exercise of devotion, as well as being eminently suited to the needs of a woman whose life was dedicated to seeking God. From awakening in the morning until sleeping at night, she was to be turning over in her mind the reality of the divine presence. This is why she was not to encumber herself with household cares, why she was to be detached from the world and from preoccupation with self: so as to love God. The love which is Dame Julian's theme is the love which brings knowledge. St. Bernard wrote, "The Father is never fully known if He is not loved perfectly,"[181] and this knowledge in love is the synthesis of the speculative and affective aspects of the mystical life. As it is God's love for us which is the ground of our desire and love for Him, so it is His love which is the cause of our knowledge of Him. It is His love which makes the soul able to love and know Him. And it is His love which makes Him reveal himself. It is in order to praise this Love that the Lady Julian wrote an account of Its revelation to her.

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[179] See the Appendix for a diagram of what seems to be Dame Julian's position in terms of the classical Three Ways.

[180] Colledge, p. 83.

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[181] St. Bernard, Cant. VIII, 9, quoted by Jean Leclerq, O.S.B., The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture (New York: Fordham University Press, 1961), p. 276. This entire book is a discussion of the interplay of love and knowledge in the Benedictine tradition.

CHAPTER IV

THE PRESENTATION OF THE PASSION IN THE REVELATIONS OF DIVINE LOVE

In the Revelations of Divine Love, we are shown the Divine condescending to an intimate personal communion with man. The peculiarly Christian form of this communion, the radical encounter of God and man is, of course, the Incarnation. It is the Incarnation which is the ultimate revelation of that divine love which is Dame Julian's theme and meaning. In her apprehension of the Divine, this English mystic is profoundly Christocentric. It has been suggested by at least one author that, "it is a mistake to regard Julian as Christocentric, because of her deep insights into the mystery of the Trinity."[1] Rather, we must point out that whatever Dame Julian sees of the Trinity, she sees it in Christ. In the First Revelation, which was the basis of all which she saw, the Lady Julian was filled with joy by the Trinity, and was made to understand that it is the Trinity which is "our everlasting love and everlasting joy and bliss."[2] While she saw this in spiritual sight, she continued to see the "bodily sight lasting of the plenteous bleeding of the Head" of Jesus in His Passion.[3] Dame Julian saw the goodness of the Triune God in the Second Person made flesh, not only in the first showing, but in all sixteen: "for where Jesus appeareth, the Blessed Trinity is understood, as to my sight."[4] This is precisely a Christocentric piety: not to rest in the vision of the salvific drama of Jesus' life, but rather to see all in Him, seeing Him as savior. First we can ask what Dame Julian's vision of her savior was; later we shall examine the Trinity as she saw It.

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[1] Thornton, p. 204. [2] Revelations, p. 8.

As the Lady Julian lay in her sickbed, she had before her the image of the savior who had died for her, the Crucifix.[5] No medieval Christian could ignore the pervasive influence of devotion to the suffering Jesus, but more than one attitude toward the Passion is evident in medieval writers.

The Incarnation is the central Christian mystery, dominating Christian religion as well as Christian theology. At different times, and in different places, however, the mystery is approached in different ways. The tension of the divine and human in this central mystery is such that human minds cannot resolve the tension, cannot comprehend the two elements simultaneously. In practice, there is always a tendency to concentrate on one or the other element, even while giving full adherence to the Chalcedonian formula. We can see such a dichotomy in popular religious devotion in the Middle Ages, as indicated in Chapter II. After the struggle with the semi-Arians, the Catholic Church tended to conceive of the glorified, living Christ in Trinitarian terms. Consequently, the belief in His true Humanity was popularly expressed by an historicizing interest in His earthly life.[6] Devotion to the Humanity of Jesus is essential to Christian spirituality. It is in virtue of the Sacred Humanity that the Second Person of the Trinity is Priest and Mediator as well as Savior.[7] This devotion to the Humanity was early expressed in the emergence of the Incarnational cycle in the liturgy, parallel to the Paschal cycle, and in the development of the Marian cult.[8] As the Middle Ages progressed, however, the practical tendency to separate the man Jesus who lived on earth from the divine Christ who now reigns in heaven gave a particular color to devotion to the Humanity. Increasing emphasis was placed on the imitatio Christi, that is, on the moral implications of the Incarnation, on following the example of Jesus who was perfect man. Less attention was given to the theological implications of the mystery, that is, to the mediation of the God-man. The process of the redeeming rather than the triumph of redemption came to dominate in meditations on the Humanity. Thus it is that one of the most characteristic forms of later medieval piety is meditation on the Passion, treated as the outcome of the Incarnation.[9]

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[3] _Ibid_., p. 15

[4] _Ibid_., p. 8.

[5] _Ibid_., p. 6.

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[6] Even among the second century Docetists, imaginative interest in the earthly life of Christ had been lively enough to produce apocryphal elaborations on the Gospels. For example (one among many), the *Book of James*, known from the sixteenth century as the Protoevangelium (Cross, p. 117) provides a marvelous account of the Infancy, describing series of miracles wrought by the Child (*The Apocryphal New Testament*, ed. by M. R. James [New York, 1926], pp. 38-49). The *Gospel of St. Peter* (*ibid*., pp. 90-94), recounts a very circumstantial narrative of the Passion. These early histories are full of imaginative detail, but, especially in the case of the "Petrine" Passion account, these details all serve to reveal the divine nature of Christ.

[7] Cf. St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Contra Gentiles*, IV, cap. 31, especially paragraph 11, and *Summa Theologiae*, III, qq. VII-XV.

[8] For a summary of these developments, see McNally, pp. 162-64. On the increasing prominence of the Incarnation cycle in the liturgy, see Jungmann, "The Defeat of Teutonic Arianism," p. 49. In the Anamnesis, Incarnation and Passion

The Passion and Death of our Lord is a mystery of fundamental importance in any system of spirituality consonant with a true understanding of Scripture. In the Passion, Jesus acts as priest and mediator as well as head of humanity. His loving obedience on the Cross was an essential phase in His liberation of the world from sin.[10]

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were mentioned in the same way as Passion and Resurrection.

[9] This is especially true after the coming of the Franciscans. While Benedictine piety took in the whole earthly life of Christ, the Franciscans, despite their support of the use of a crèche at Christmas, were most notable for their devotion to the Passion. In this Dame Julian and her contemporaries reflect the Franciscan influence. As an example of the Benedictine approach, cf. Aelred of Rievaulx' Regula and his writings on the childhood of Jesus.

[10] Robert McNally, S.S., "Beata Passio," Worship, XXXVIII (1964), 120.

The importance of the Passion in Christian tradition is reflected in the fact that the history of the Passion as a narrative unit belongs to the earliest stratum of the Gospel tradition.[11] What is peculiar to the Middle Ages is not their interest in the Passion, nor their appreciation of the love expressed in the Passion. What is peculiar is the dislocation of the Passion from its proper context. In Scripture and in the Fathers, the Passion is an objective event in salvation history. Jesus Christ suffered a real and agonizing death and was burried. But the death is ordered to and understood in the light of the Resurrection. The earliest extant depiction of scenes from the Passion is a marble sarcophagus from the mid-fourth century. The crucifixion is not shown. The central panel is occupied by a plain cross surmounted by the Chi Rho wreathed in the crown of immortality.[12] The Passion is not considered an adequate symbol for the redemption effected by Jesus. It is a momentous event, but not a self-contained entity, its importance is derived from its place in the entire history of salvation culminating in the Resurrection.

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[11] John L. McKenzie, S.J., *Dictionary of the Bible* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1965), pp. 640-44.

[12] Cyril Pocknee, *Cross and Crucifix in Christian Worship and Devotion* (London, 1962), p. 38, Plate XVIII. Paul Thoby, *Le crucifix des origines au Concile de Trente: Etude iconographique* (Nantes: Bellanger, 1959), p. 21, Plate III, 8. An interesting detail is seen in the second panel from the left end. The scene is the crowning with thorns, but the crown being placed on Christ's head is a crown of glory, and the expression on His face is one of calm majesty.

Meditation on the Passion from this point of view moves the Christian to sorrow, but knowledge of the Resurrection completes that meditation and provides its ultimate meaning.[13] In the later Middle Ages, the Passion was considered in isolation from its completion. The note of triumph which sounded in the Passion piety of the Church at the beginning of the Middle Ages and even into the high Middle Ages is conspicuously absent in the later period. The Passion was no longer a dogma to be reflected on, it had become "a moving image which speaks to the heart."[14]

We can summarize the change in attitude toward the Passion by summarizing the development of the Crucifix as a symbol of Christian faith. The first known representation of the Passion is the sarcophagus just mentioned, which does not include a crucifix, The two oldest extant depictions of the Crucifixion come from the beginning of the fifth century.[15] An ivory casket from about 400 A.D. attempts a factual portrayal of the event. Christ is on the cross, arms extended horizontally, clad in a narrow loin cloth. There is no expression of suffering on His face, and the eyes are wide open, perhaps a reference to the open-eyed lion which symbolizes omnipotence. Mary and John stand on either side of the cross, and to the right of Christ Longinus is piercing the Crucified with his lance. On the far left of this scene, as we face the ivory, Judas is hanging from a tree, at the base of which is a money bag.[16] The second example is a wooden panel of the doors of Santa Sabina, Rome, carved about 430 A.D. There three crucified figures are shown, the central Christ being twice as large as the two thieves. Christ's arms are bent at the elbow, and His hands, but not His feet, show nails. As in the ivory panel, the figure faces straight forward, with calm face and open eyes.[17] In both of these examples, interest in the Crucifixion is intellectual: it is a dogma to be appreciated, but the emotional content is not underlined. This is the Christus Victor. Triumph over death and sin is indicated as clearly in these early Crucifixes as in the cross inscribed with the Chi Rho.

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[13] McNally, "Beata Passio," p. 125.

[14] Emile Mâle, L'art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1925), p. 86.

[15] Christian tombs were decorated with appropriate symbols even in the first century, and Christian art used human figures in the second century (Pocknee, p. 33). There is a late fourth century graffito on a Roman house showing a crucified ass, beside which a man stands in prayer. The inscription says, "Alexamenons worships God" (Pocknee, p. 40).

When the Third Council of Constantinople decreed in 681 that the human figure was to be shown in portrayals of the Crucifixion, the triumphant tone still sounded. The Council intended to insist on the reality of Jesus Christ's suffering and death as an implication of the reality and integrity of His human nature in the face of the Monothelite heresy, an aspect of that Monophysitism which had plagued the East since the fifth century. Monophysitism seems to have had a two-fold influence on the depiction of the Crucifixion. On the one hand, reaction to the heresy stimulated a more realistic portrayal of the Crucifixion; on the other hand, the heresy strengthened the tendency to show the Crucified Christ as living and triumphant.[18] The most important Crucifixion of this period was produced by the Syrian monk Rabula in the Gospels which he illustrated in 586. This became the model for later work in the West. In the Rabula Crucifixion, Christ is bearded, as He continued to be in Western art. He wears the colobium, the priestly garment which He will wear in Crucifixes as late as the twelfth century. His uncrowned head is surrounded by a halo. With open eyes, He gazes to His right, toward His Mother and toward Longinus who thrusts the spear at Him. His arms are extended horizontally along the Cross arms. He is priest, king and conqueror. The brutality of the soldiers who dice below the Cross, the anguish of Mary and the Holy Women, John's sorrow, all make the Crucifixion a moving and dramatic scene for the first time in the history of art. But Christ Himself remains apart, neither suffering nor dead.[19] He is the living Christ. There is realism in this scene, but the Crucifix is still a dogmatic rather than an emotional statement. And the dogma is the victory of the Man who is God.

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[16] Pocknee, p. 39. Thoby, p. 22. O. M. Dalton, Catalogue of the Ivory Carvings of the Christian Era in the British Museum (London: British Museum, 1909), number 7, p. 5, Plate IV.

[17] Pocknee, p. 39. Thoby, p. 23, dates this panel from the early sixth century, and points out that it is a small panel, inconspicuous in its position high on the left side of the door.

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[18] Pecknee, pp. 41-42. Thoby, pp. 24-25. The impetus to depict the Crucifixion, like so much else in Christianity, came from the East. The iconoclasts forced many who advocated the use of images to move into Italy in the eighth century; from there their iconographic traditions penetrated the West. On Monophysitism and its influence on the Crucifix, see Thoby, p. 26.

In the ninth century, in the Carolingian era, we can trace a change of emphasis in the piety of the West. The Germanic influence was towards the introspective, the subjective, the concrete and particular. Moral effort and accomplishment became dominant themes.[20] From this time on, we often find representations of the Crucifixion where once we should have found the glorified Christ. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Crucifix was placed on the altar, and a painting of the Crucifixion often dominated the wall behind the altar.[21] The great Romanesque Crucifixes still represent Christ as priest and king reigning from the Cross as from a throne. His head is uncovered or crowned with a diadem of glory, often the fillet fastened with a gem appears, the early pontifical headgear.[22]

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[19] Thoby, pp. 24-25, Plate V, 11.

[20] Jungmann, "The Defeat of Teutonic Arianism," pp. 6-9. Pocknee, p. 47. In a complete discussion of the development of piety in this direction, we should have to pay much attention to the Irish role.

[21] Jungmann, pp. 5-6.

[22] Thoby, p. 75.

Christ's eyes are open, and His expression is serene and commanding. His arms are extended horizontally as though inviting the beholder to His embrace. He wears the *colobium*.[23] In this idealization of the Crucifixion, the ultimate significance of the Death appears: it is a "victorious achievement, the completion and perfection of His life's work. . . . In the light of the Resurrection, the Hill of the Skull is suffused with splendor."[24] The victory dominates the iconography and the devotion of the period, but a new theme had been sounded, the theme which will predominate in the later Middle Ages. The type of dead Christ begins to appear, as attention shifts to focus on the process of Redemption, the Redemption in terms of the historical Passion.

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[23] See, for example, the Lindau Gospel binding from Rheims, about 870. The *Crucifixus* stands rather than hangs on the cross, with arms spread wide. Mary and John show grief, but the Christ does not suffer. The gold and jewels of the binding are suitable to the whole tone of royal victory (H. W. Janson, *The History of Art* [New York, 1963], p. 204).

In the Metropolitan Museum, New York City, there is a polychromed wood Italian Crucifix from the late twelfth or very early thirteenth century, supposedly inspired by the Volto Santo of Lucca (for which see Thoby, p. 109, Plate LXX, 160). The *Crucifixus* is very large. He wears the *colobium* but no crown. His arms are open wide and He stands before the Cross, gazing straight ahead. The same museum has a Spanish processional cross of the twelfth century, wrought in silver gilt and encrusted with jewels. On the left arm of the cross, at Christ's right, is the figure of the Mother, in a position of resignation and sacrifice, with bowed head and crossed arms. On the back of the Cross, the place of the *Crucifixus* is taken by a lamb. The Bury St. Edmund Cross, made in 1182, and representing this same tradition, is at the Cloisters, New York City.

[24] McNally, "Beata Passio," p. 122. Also *The Unreformed Church*, p. 167.

Already in the Carolingian period, we find the representation of the bloody Christ, blood gushing from the wound in Christ's side, after the model of the late eighth century Sacramentary of Gellone.[25] The meaning of the blood in this Crucifixion is not to emphasize the suffering of Jesus, but to remind the observer of the salvific value of the Cross. The Christ is shown as alive and the blood, again, is of dogmatic not emotional significance.

Even by the tenth century, however, the Crucified Christ was represented as dead. The earliest extant example seems to be the miniature in an English Psalter showing Christ with His eyes closed, his haloed head resting on His right shoulder. He is clad in the *perizoneum*, or full loin cloth, which was to replace the priestly *colobium*, and which reveals the wound in the side. In this example, the five wounds are bleeding.[26] By the eleventh century, this

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[25] Pocknee, p. 47, Plate XV. Thoby, p. 32, Plate X, 23. The Sacramentary is Bibliotheque Nationale, ms. lat. 12048. Christ is placed in the traditional position with His eyes open and arms horizontal, feet resting on the suppedaneum (which first appears in the seventh century, Thoby, p. 35), but He wears the *perizoneum* or full, gathered loin cloth, which reveals the wound in His side. Although bearded, He has short hair.

[26] Thoby, pp. 39-40, Plate XIII, 29. The Psalter is now British Museum Ms. Harley 2904, and is a product of Winchester, where at this time iconographic themes often appeared before they were popular on the Continent. The German Sacramentary of St. Geron, at Cologne, now Bib. Nat., ms. lat. 817, depicts the dead Christ also, and is probably from the end of the tenth century (*ibid*., pp. 45-46, Plate XIX, 40). St. Geron's Cross may be from the eleventh century and is in the same tradition. For a good picture of this, see Kenneth Clark, *Civilization* (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), p. 28, Plate XX.

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was a popular type, although not yet the dominant mode of showing the Crucifixion. The silver "Cross of St. Bernward," of the early eleventh century, reveals an accentuated realism. Christ's head droops forward, and His long hair falls over His shoulders. His eyes are closed and the lower jaw slack.[27] The Arundel Psalter from New Minster, Winchester, illustrated about 1060, shows the dead Christ's body bent at the knees so that the line from inclined head through the torso and legs is an "S" curve, a motif found in the "Cross of Lothar" of about 1000, and one which became more and more important through the fourteenth century.[28] Instead of a king who gazes before Him at the salvation which He has wrought, we now see the Man who died. This is not the triumph after death, but the death itself.[29]

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[27] Thoby, pp. 66-67, Plate XXXIV, 79. There is an English crucifix, an ivory panel with a gold covered wood crucifix, of the eleventh century in the Victoria and Albert Museum (7943-1862). The Christ is dead: His eyes are closed and His head on His shoulder. He is bearded and has long hair, and He wears a gold corona or fillet. His arms are horizontal, and His open hands show the nails, but His feet, parallel on the suppedaneum, show no nail marks. He wears the *perizoneum*. The evangelists' symbols appear at the ends of the cross. (Thoby, p. 63, Plate XXI, 72).

[28] *Ibid*., p. 41, Plate XIV, 31. The Psalter is now British Museum Ms. Arundel 60. The symbols of the four evangelists appear in the corners of the illustration. This theme was to become more important in the next century. The Cross of Lothar is now in Aachen. The best plate of the Cross is in Clark, p. 27, Plate XIX.

[29] Besides the Cross of Lothar, the ninth century ivory used in the binding of the *Prachtkodex* of Henry II (a book of pericopes), now in the Staatsbibliothek at Munich, and the Sacramentary of Gembloux, now in the Bibliotheque Royale in Brussels, are described as contributing to the development of this type by K. Künstle, *Ikonographie*

In the twelfth century, the finest example of the "Dead Crucifix" may be the French bronze now in the Louvre. Christ's arms are pulled down from the horizontal by the weight of His body, His head falls forward and rests on the right shoulder, His eyes are closed. But He wears a royal crown, and His expression shows a majesty as well as sorrow.[30]

A drawing of a destroyed illumination from the *Hortus Deliciarum* (1175-1185), shows blood from the dead Christ's side flowing into a chalice held by a figure representing the Church, while on Christ's left side a blindfolded woman on an ass represents the Synagogue. Below, Adam and other dead men rise from the dead[31]: the victory over death is now associated with the Crucifixion rather than with the Resurrection. These figures foreshadow the thirteenth century emphasis on two dogmas: Christ is the

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der Christlichen Kunst (Freiburg-im-Breisgau; 1928), pp. 459-60, and Plate CCXL. Clark, Plate IV, facing p. 29, reproduces the ivory of the *Prachtkodex*. G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'Evangile au XIV^e, XV^e et XVI^e siécles d'aprés les monuments de Mistra, de la Macedoine et du Mont Athos* (Paris: Fontemoing, 1916), p. 415, for a comparison of the Gembloux Christ to that in the Arundel Psalter. See also Emile Mâle, *L'art religieux du XII^e siècle en France: Etudes sur les origines de l'iconographie du moyen âge* (7th ed.; Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1956), p. 228, figure 84.

[30] Thoby, pp. 105-106, Plate LXV, 148. The bronze is number 656 in the Louvre collection, and comes from the second half of the twelfth century. The Metropolitan Museum has a twelfth century German crucifix (no. 17-190-763) which shows a similarly crowned dead Christ (Thoby, p. 106, Plate LXVII, 150).

[31] Thoby, p. 99, Plate LVIII, 132.

second Adam who conquered the death brought about by the first Adam because He atoned for Adam's guilt; Christ abolished the authority of the Synagogue by establishing the Church.[32] In the thirteenth century, the figures who appear at the Crucifixion do not underline the drama of the Crucifixion, but serve to emphasize the symbolism and dogmatic significance of the event. The figures most characteristic are the Church, who appears as a woman standing on Christ's right, and the Synagogue, usually a blindfolded woman on His left.[33] The other characteristic figure is Adam at the foot of the Cross.[34]

The typical thirteenth century *Crucifixus* is the dead Christ. The Crucifixion no longer appears in the light of Easter, but as the implementation of the Incarnation. Not the Redemption but the Redeeming is depicted. The Christ has closed eyes, His head drops to His right shoulder, and His hair falls lankly over His shoulders. The arms bend at the elbows, pulled down by the weight of the body which twists slightly to its right. The feet are crossed and fastened by one nail. By the last half of the century, the knees are bent sharply as is the hip to give the pronounced "S" curve.[35] The *perizoneum* virtually always replaces the *colobium.* The crown of thorns appears and becomes the typical head covering.[36] The impetus determining the type of representation of the Crucifixion was still largely doctrinal: the presentation of the doctrine of the Redemption as a work of Satisfaction, after the lines indicated by St. Anselm of Canterbury in the *Cur Deus Homo*.[37] The type of the dead Christ on the Cross in association with Adam underlines this theme. The new Adam has by His obedience even unto death made up for the disobedience of the first Adam.

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[32] Emile Mâle, *Religious Art in France in the Thirteenth Century: A Study in Medieval Iconography and Its Sources of Inspiration*, trans. by D. Nussey (3rd ed. rev.; New York: E. P. Dutton, 1913), pp. 186-92.

[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 189-92, explains that at times all the figures at Christ's right were assimilated to the type of the Church, those on His left, even John, to the Synagogue.

[34] Thoby, p. 157, as well as Mâle, *Religious Art in the Thirteenth Century*, pp. 186-92. Thoby says that usually only Mary and John appear, but that besides these two and the Church and Synagogue and Adam, Stephaton the sponge-bearer and Longinus occasionally appear. The sun and moon which traditionally appeared above the cross in the previous century were supported by angels in the thirteenth century.

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[35] Künstle, pp. 461-63. Millet, pp. 407-16, traces the spread of the type, distinguishing the development according to the curve given to the Body of the Crucified, a curve affected by the use of one or two nails to fasten the feet. The degree of curvature and still more the abruptness of the line from the torso through the knees to the feet determines the general effect of the Crucifix. The motif of one nail through both feet came from the North to Italy at the beginning of the thirteenth century (Millet, pp. 413, 415, and Künstle, p. 462).

[36] Künstle, p. 460. Thoby, pp. 156-57. Thoby points out that the royal crown still appeared in *limousine* gold work (p. 156). Generally the crown of thorns is fine rather than "spiky" in the thirteenth century. St. Louis had brought the crown of thorns to France 1239, but as an artistic motif, Künstle attributes it first to Germany and Italy (p. 465).

[37] Cf. St. Anselm, *Sermo De Passione Domini*, Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 158 (1853), col. 675-76. See Künstle, pp. 459-60 on the influence of the doctrine of Satisfaction on the Crucifix. Byzantine influence reaching the West through Italy played a part in the development of the type of the dead Christ (Millet, pp. 409-11), but it can be maintained, particularly because of the Cross of Lothar and

In the fourteenth century, the Crucifixion was depicted with increasing emotionalism. Not exultation, not awe, not terror, but compassion was the desired response. In the first half of the century, the Body on Northern crucifixes habitually sags in a more or less exaggerated "S" curve.[38] Christ's features are no longer idealized, but show an increasingly exaggerated "realism." This tendency was perhaps particularly marked in German Crucifixes, of which the Crucifix made for the Cathedral at Cologne (c. 1304) was perhaps the most influential example.

> The limbs are dessicated, mummified, even the torso which is eviscerated as in an autopsy, the bloody sides are covered with pustules. The head, covered with long locks of hair covered with blood and sweat and held by a thick torse, falls heavily forward; . . . one might wonder if this is the Redeemer or the bad thief, so abject is the appearance.[39]

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the Cross of St. Bernward, that the type developed in the West independently (Millet, p. 415, see especially note 2). We have seen that the dead *Crucifixus* was long known in the West, but the influence of the East on Western iconography can never be ignored.

[38] Thoby, p. 159. Künstle, p. 466. Thoby refers this development to the freeing of sculpture from architectural influence and compares it to the elegant stance assumed by the Virgin in this period. As indicated above, the motif of the crossed feet of the Crucified contributed to the development of the contorted line. A study of Raymond Koechlin, *Les ivoires gothiques français* (2 vols.; Paris: Auguste Picard, 1924), will provide a multitude of examples of the development.

[39] Thoby, p. 179, Plate CXLIV, 307 and, for detail

This is Christ portrayed as not only dead but derelict. The decaying, asphixiated body (and this is a tendency especially notable in contemporary Pietas) is an "empty envelope" from which the life-giving spirit has departed. The cult of realism continued in Germany throughout the century, but the later examples often appear calmer and less tortured. For example, the head of the Christ may rest on the shoulder rather than "falling heavily forward," as in the Crucifix from St. George in Cologne.[40] The grimly naturalistic portrayal of the dead Christ continued in Germany in the fifteenth century, and may be said to have reached its artistic high point in the first quarter of the sixteenth century in the Isenheim Retable of Matthias Grunewald. The general preoccupation with death in the fifteenth century affected portrayal of the Crucifixion, it seems. Plays as well as sermons of the century tend to a grossly realistic portrayal of death in general and the death of Christ in particular.[41]

In Italy, however, a different portrayal of the Crucifixion was developed in the fourteenth century by Giotto and his followers, inspired by St. Francis' vision of Christ as the heavenly Crucified:

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of the head, 308. This crucifix shows the Christ fixed to the Y-shaped Cross.

[40] Ibid., pp. 380-81, Plate CXLVIII, 315.

[41] Ibid., p. 191. See Künstle, p. 467, for a discussion of German realism.

> [Francis] beheld in a "vision of God" (Ezech. 8,3), a man as a seraph with six wings, who stood over him, with arms outstretched and feet together, nailed to a cross. . . . He rejoiced exceedingly, and was filled with intense delight at the kindly and gracious look with which he saw the Seraph regarded him, for his beauty surpassed all conception. But the way the Seraph was nailed to the cross and the bitterness of his suffering greatly frightened the Saint.[42]

Giotto painted the Crucified Body:

> straight and supple, without prostration but also without rigidity, he seems to keep a trace of life in order to incline toward human miseries; the face, sad without contortion, shows more care for the distress of Humanity than the effect of the suffering of the Passion.[43]

The tragic drama was expressed by the persons who surrounded the central figure. John and the Mother, the Holy Women, all express grief and tragedy, almost despair: in the lower Church at Assisi, for example, Mary sinks to the ground, supported by the Holy Women, the Magdalen kneels fervently at the foot of the cross, John raises his joined hands to Christ. All of these figures stand to Christ's right, while on His left, a group of Jews argue and Longinus prays.[44] By the second half of the fourteenth century, French art had felt the Italian influence[45] which thus passed into the northern tradition. The extremely contorted body of the Christ assumed a more natural position. The auxiliary figures continued to be used as the vehicle to express the sorrow of the event. In the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, there is an English ivory of the fourteenth century, the *corpus* from a Crucifix, which exemplifies the more natural portrayal: the head is slightly to the right and the crossed legs are gently bent at the knees; the face is calm and only the line of the eyebrows indicates sorrow, the eyes being closed.[46]

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[42] Thomas of Celano, "_Vita Prima_," _Early Franciscan Classics_, trans. by The Franciscan Fathers of the Province of Santa Barbara (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Serra Press, 1954), p. 64. _The Little Flowers of St. Francis of Assisi_ (New York, 1925), p. 184.

[43] Thoby, p. 164. For the frescoes from Assisi, see Plate CXXVI, 273 and Plate CXXVII, 274, for the fresco from the Scrovegni Arena Chapel at Padua, Plate CXXVI, 272, also see pp. 165-66. The Christ is in an almost straight forward position, with the knees only slightly bent and the head tipped to the right. The eyes are half open.

[44] _Ibid._, Plate CXXVI, 273. The Virgin is inert,

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and her head rests on her shoulder in an echo of Christ's position. See Millet, pp. 416-22, on Mary's attitude at the Crucifixion.

Thoby, p. 165, note 6, points out the similarity of this Assisi fresco to the *Revelations* of St. Bridget (Lib. VII, cap. XV, Lib. IV, cap. LXX-C), but reminds us that the fresco was done between 1310-1320, and St. Bridget was only born in 1303.

On Giotto's use of the Byzantine motif of the angels at the Crucifixion, see Thoby, p. 165.

[45] *Ibid*., p. 169. Not only the Giotoesque Florentine tradition, but also the Sienese tradition influenced the French. The type of the Crucifix was the same, but the Sienese work was generally more elegant and less tragic. The most famous example is, of course, the panel from Duccio's *Majesta* (*ibid*., p. 166, Plate CXXVIII, 276). A fresco by Pietro Lorenzetti in the lower church at Assisi is called the chef d'oeuvre of Sienese tradition by Thoby, p. 167, Plate CXXX, 279, who also reproduces a polytych panel by Simone Martini, Plate CXXVII, 275, and see p. 166.

[46] *Ibid*., p. 175, Plate CXXXVII, 293. Margaret H. Longhurst, *Catalogue of Carvings in Ivory of the Victoria and Albert Museum* (2 vols.; London: The Board of Education, 1927), II, 6, Plate III. *Idem*., *English Ivories* (London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1926), pp. 43, 103, Plates VIII and XLIV, no. LVI. Koechlin, I, 263, II, Plate CXXI *bis*. The ivory is number A2-1921 in the Museum collection. The museum also has two Italian figures of the fourteenth century,

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In our brief review of the development of the Crucifix, we have seen that the early examples portrayed triumph rather than suffering, but that gradually the type of the dead Christ came to predominate. Dame Julian's vision of Christ in the eighth revelation is of His dying, and is as vivid and horrible as the Cologne Cathedral crucifix:

> I saw His sweet face as it were dry and bloodless with pale dying. And later, more pale, dead, langoring; and then turned more dead unto blue; and then more brown-blue, as the flesh turned more deeply dead. For His Passion shewed to me most specially in His blessed face (and chiefly in His lips): there I saw these four colours, though it were afore fresh, ruddy, and pleasing, to my sight. This was a pitiful change to see, this deep dying. And also the (inward) moisture clotted and dried, to my sight, and the sweet body was brown and black, all turned out of fair life-like colour of itself, unto dry dying.
>
> For that same time that our Lord and blessed Saviour died upon the Rood, it was a dry, hard wind, and wondrous cold, as to my sight, and what time (all) the precious blood was bled out of the sweet body that might pass therefrom, yet there dwelled a moisture in the sweet flesh of Christ, as it was shewed.
>
> Bloodlessness and pain dried within; and blowing of wind and cold coming from without met together in the sweet body of Christ. And these four,--twain without and twain within--dried the flesh of Christ by process of time. . . .
>
> This long pining seemed to me as if He had been seven nights dead, dying, at the point of outpassing away, suffering the last pain. And when I said it

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numbers A21-1920 and 212-1867 of the collection, see Longhurst, Catalogue, p. 32, Plate XXX and p. 58, Plate LII.

E. W. Tristram, English Wall Painting of the Fourteenth Century (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1955), pp. 21-22, discusses the increased naturalism which characterizes all the art of the century, remarking that Crucifixion paintings in England "stressed the pain and pity of the theme" (p. 22).

seemed to me as if He had been seven night dead, it meaneth that the sweet body was so discoloured, so dry, so shrunken, so deathly, and so piteous, as if He had been seven night dead, continually dying. And methought the drying of Christ's flesh was the most pain, and the last, of His Passion.

And in this dying was brought to my mind the words of Christ: I thirst. . . .

For this word was shewed for the bodily thirst: the which I understood was caused by failing of moisture. For the blessed flesh and bones was left all alone without blood and moisture. The blessed body dried alone long time with wringing of the nails and weight of the body. For I understood that for tenderness of the sweet hands and of the sweet feet, by the greatness, hardness, and grievousness of the nails the wounds waxed wide and the body sagged, for weight by long time hanging. And (therewith was) piercing and pressing of the head and binding of the Crown all baked with dry blood, with the sweet hair clinging, and the dry flesh, to the thorns, and the thorns to the flesh drying; and in the beginning while the flesh was fresh and bleeding, the continual sitting of the thorns made the wounds wide. And furthermore, I saw that the sweet skin and the tender flesh, with the hair and the blood, was all raised and loosed about from the bone, with the thorns wherethrough it were rent in many places, as a cloth that were sagging, as if it would hastily have fallen off, for heaviness and looseness, while it had natural moisture. And that was great sorrow and dread to me: for methought I would not for my life have seen it fall. How it was done I saw not; but understood it was with the sharp thorns and the violent and grievous setting on of the Garland of Thorns, unsparingly and without pity. This continued awhile, and soon it began to change. . . . And then I saw it was because it began to dry, and stint a part of the weight, and set about the Garland. And thus it encircled all about, as it were garland upon garland. The Garland of the Thorns was dyed with the blood, and that other garland (of Blood) and the head, all was one colour, as clotted blood when it is dry. The skin of the flesh that shewed (of the face and the body), was small-rimpled with a tanned colour, like a dry board when it is aged; and the face more brown than the body.

I saw four manner od dryings: the first was bloodlessness; the second was pain following after; the third, hanging up in the air, as men hang a cloth to dry; the fourth, that the bodily Kind asked liquid and there was no manner of comfort ministered to Him in all His woe and distress. Ah! hard and grievous

> was his pain, but much more hard and grievous it was when the moisture failed and began to dry thus, shrivelling.
>
> These were the pains that shewed in the blessed head: the first wrought to the dying, while it had moisture; and that other, slow, with shrinking drying, (and) with blowing of the wind from without, that dried and pained him with cold more than mine heart can think.[47]

This eighth revelation is the most vivid and detailed picture which Dame Julian saw of the Passion, and her description of it is the most moving description which she gives.[48]

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[47] *Revelations*, pp. 36-39. Compare St. Bridget of Sweden's *Revelations*: "His face was pale and perished, His whole body wan and pale and colorless because there was hardly any blood. And the skin on His virginal body was so fine and thin that the least blow made a blue mark. . . . His stomach had fallen in and touched His back as if it were hollow" (*Lib*. VII, *cap*. 15, quoted in Johannes Jorgensen, *Saint Bridget of Sweden* [2 vols.; London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1954], II, 249). St. Bridget says elsewhere that Christ told her that, "Inwardly I was entirely dried up and shrivelled. . . . I hung like a rag" (*Extravagantes* 51, in Jorgensen, I, 192). St. Bridget would seem to have in mind the contorted line of early fourteenth century crucifixes when she refers to Jesus' attempts to straighten His body on the cross, when the pain was great (*Revelations*, *Lib*. VII, *cap*. 15).

The cold was referred to in the *Northern Passion*: "wher for cold all his bodi quaked" (*The Northern Passion*, ed. by F. A. Foster [2 vols.; London: Early English Text Society, Original Series 145, 1913], I, 186, l. 1590). This is a narrative poem which was compiled in the early fourteenth century and known throughout England by 1350 (*The Northern Passion*, II, 2, and 9-13), and was a popular work with great dramatic impact (*ibid*., 6 and 81-101).

Ruysbroeck also referred to the cold in his description of the Passion in the *Adornment of Spiritual Marriage* (p. 15), where he says that Christ hung on the Cross "like a log" (p. 16).

Dame Julian does not tell us just what the Crucifix which she held (p. 6) looked like, but it is not impossible that it showed the realistic dead Body. However, this is not certain.

[48] In this vision, Dame Julian also saw the compassion of Mary and the disciples (*Revelations*, pp. 40-41).

But while she was regarding this image of the suffering Christ:

> Suddenly (I beholding in the same Cross), He changed His Blessed Countenance. The changing of His Blessed Countenance changed mine, and I was as glad and merry as it was possible. Then brought our Lord merrily to my mind: Where is now any point of the pain, or of thy grief? And I was full merry.[49]

This gladness even in the very sight of the Passion is a reflection of Jesus's gladness in suffering. As He tells Dame Julian in the Ninth Revelation:

> It is a joy, a bliss, an endless satisfying to me that ever suffered I Passion for thee; and if I might suffer more, I would suffer more.[50]

Christ is glad to have suffered because His love is great, and having shown Dame Julian His pain, He showed her that His love surpasses His pain as heaven surpasses earth.[51] This is reminiscent of St. Francis' "Kindly and gracious look" with which the Seraph regarded him.

> We have three manners of beholding His blessed Passion. The First is: the hard Pain that He suffered. . . . [I saw] for the Second Beholding in this blessed Passion the love that made Him to suffer passeth as far all His pains as Heaven above Earth. . . . [I saw] for the Third Beholding . . . the Joy and Bliss that make Him to be well-satisfied in it.[52]
>
> And in this He brought to mind the property of a glad giver. A glad giver taketh but little heed of the thing that He giveth, but all his desire and all his intent is to please and solace

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[49] *Ibid.*, p. 45. "Blessed Countenance" is Miss Warrack's translation of the manuscript "blisful chere."

[50] *Ibid.*, p. 47.

[51] *Ibid.*, p. 49.

[52] *Ibid.*, pp. 45, 48, 49.

> him to whom he giveth it. And if the receiver take the gift highly and thankfully, then the courteous giver setteth at nought all his cost and all his travail, for joy and delight that he hath pleased and solaced him that he loveth.[53]

The courtesy of Christ is a recurring note in Dame Julian's meditation, an echo of her perception of His love. When she first saw the bleeding head of her savior, she was deeply struck by His graciousness in being so homely with her as to show Himself to her.[54] Moreover, it is deepest courtesy of the Lord to show Himself to the engraced soul[55]: courtesy is but another name for graciousness, in the literal sense. The Lord not only saves His servants, but He thanks them for being saved.[56] The courteous Lord is a glad giver, and the gift is Himself, first on the Cross, dying gladly.

There are, the Lady Julian says, two joys for Christ: one that He will suffer no more, "another, that He bought us from endless pains of hell."[57] The significance of the Passion, that which makes Jesus satisfied and turns His pain to bliss, is that the Passion overcame the devil and so saved man. In the fifth revelation,

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[53] Ibid., pp. 50-51.

[54] Ibid., pp. 16-17, p. 8.

[55] Ibid., p. 82. Meditations on the Life and Passion of Christ, ed. by Charlotte d'Evelyn (London: Early English Text Society, Original Series 158, 1928), ll. 1229-1230:
"Ihesu, thy grete curtesye
Maketh me with trust on thee to crye."
The importance of this example derives from the nature of the poem, which is a compendium of popular religious lyric themes, composed probably during Dame Julian's lifetime (pp. vii-ix).

[56] Revelations, p. 33.

[57] Ibid., p. 51.

> He, without voice and opening of lips formed in my soul these words: Herewith is the Fiend overcome . . ., meaning His blessed Passion. . . . And [the Fiend] . . . seeth that all souls of salvation escape him worshipfully, by the virtue of Christ's precious Passion.[58]

Dame Julian vividly experienced the salvific power of the Passion when the devil tempted her to doubt the revelations which she had received, tormenting her with "heat and stench." She fixed her eye on the Crucifix and thought on the Passion, "and thus was I delivered from him by the virtue of Christ's Passion. . . ."[59] The significance of Dame Julian's basic understanding of the Passion is that It is the revelation of God's love for man, the practical implementation and fulfillment of that love: It is salvific.

The image of Christ which Dame Julian presents is that of a victor, but not that of the serene, majestic Christus Victor of the early or Romanesque Crucifixes. Christ has conquered the power of evil precisely by His battle with the Fiend, that is, His Passion and Death. Among her contemporaries, this theme of the conquest of the devil was sometimes expressed in the figure of Christ as the Knight jousting with the Enemy:

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[58] Ibid., p. 31. In the first revelation, Dame Julian "knew well that [the Passion with the understanding of the Godhead] was strength enough for me . . . and for all creatures living against all the fiends of hell and ghostly temptation" (p. 9).

[59] Ibid., p. 171.

On the Friday following, for mankind's sake
He jousted in Jerusalem, a joy to us all.
On the cross on Calvary Christ won the battle
Against death and the devil, and destroyed their might;
He died, undid death, made day out of night.[60]

Again, among contemporary literature, The Meditations on the Life and Passion of Christ describes Christ:

The king to fight for his meyne (domain)
Maketh him an helm of briar-tree.
Reufely his forehead bled,
That helm on head so sore is set;
His cheeks be all bloody become,
So sore his helm sits him upon.[61]

In this same poem, the crown of thorns is described not only to the battle helmet, but also to the laurel of victory which Jesus deserved more than Julius Caesar.[62] Examples of this presentation of Christ as the champion of battle could be multiplied,[63] but the Lady Julian does not dwell on the martial image.[64] Behind the image of Christ as victor in battle, however, is the doctrine that Christ died for our sins, the doctrine of the Satisfactory death, which we saw reflected in the great thirteenth century Crucifixes and emphasized in those of the fourteenth century. With various modifications, the theme is expressed over and over in contemporary literature: Jesus has fought for us and won us from the devil; Jesus has bought us at a dear price[65]; Jesus has suffered much and meekly for us.[66] The common note which links these images is this: "Causa tuae mortis fuit iniquitas mea, vulnera tua fecerunt crimina mea."[67]

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[60] Langland, Passus XVI, ll. 162-166 (Williams' trans.). See also Passus XVIII, ll. 22-35, 83-107. There is a strong anti-Semitic tone to ll. 103-107, not unusual in medieval Passion literature, although not found in Dame Julian.

[61] Meditations on the Life and Passion, ll. 571-576.

[62] Ibid., ll. 556-562, 983-988.

[63] See for example, "Jesus, Man's Champion," Religious Lyrics of the XIVth Century, ed. by Carleton F. Brown (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2nd ed. rev., 1957), No. 63, also "The Sweetness of Jesus," ibid., No. 48, ll. 81-92.

[64] The courteous Lord is, however, a chivalric image.

In chapter fifty-one, Dame Julian sets forth her understanding of the significance of the death of Jesus as man's salvation.[68] She saw a Servant standing before his Lord. At first, she sees that the Servant is Adam who is Allman,[69] then she understands that the Servant is the Second Person of the Trinity, "when I say the Servant, it meaneth Christ's manhood, which is rightful Adam."[70] The Son came to earth to save Adam:

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[65] "The Middle English Evangile," ed. by Gertrude H. Campbell, *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXX (1915), ll. 1021-1028. The English translation of "Tu Rex glorie Christe" by the Franciscan Friar William Herbert (d. 133), *Religious Lyrics*, No. 22, ll. 19-20 or ll. 23-24.

[66] *Meditations on the Life and Passion*, ll. 957-982, contrasts Jesus' suffering with benefits to man. The classic expression of the theme is the Reproach *Popule Meus Quid Feci Tibi*? based on the Improperia sung Good Friday (See Brown's notes, p. 247), for example, *Religious Lyrics*, No. 17, for Friar William Herbert's translation, *ibid*., No. 72 for a version given in the Franciscan John Grimstone's *Sermon Commonplace Book* (1372-1376). Other reproaches were composed for Christ, for example, from the early fourteenth century, "Think, Man, of My Hard Stundes," *Religious Lyrics*, No. 3, and "Look to Me on the Cross," *ibid*., No. 4; from the mid-century, "Abide, Ye Who Pass By," *ibid*., No. 46, "Christ's Appeal to Man," *ibid*., No. 51; from the end of the century, "Jesus Appeals to Man by the Wounds," *ibid*., No. 127; from the "school of Richard Rolle," "*Homo Vide Quid pro Te Patior*," *ibid*., No. 77; *et al*. See also *The Northern Passion*, ll. 1755-1760b. The thirteenth century *Southern Passion*, ed. by B. Brown (London: Early English Text Society, Original Series 169, 1927), is unusual in saying that Christ did not speak to man from the Cross except for the words which the Gospels report (l.1519).

[67] Anselm, *Sermo de Passione Domini*, col. 675.

> When Adam fell, God's Son fell: because of the rightful oneing which had been made in heaven, God's son might not (be disparted) from Adam. (For by Adam I understand All-Man). Adam fell from life to death, into the deep (slade) of this wretched world, and after that into hell: God's Son fell with Adam, into the deep (slade) of the Maiden's womb, who was the fairest daughter of Adam; and for this end: to excuse Adam from blame in heaven and earth; and mightily He fetched him out of hell.[71]

The Servant, Jesus Christ, has assumed the blame which is man's, and the Father, therefore, cannot blame man apart from His Son whom He has let suffer "all man's pains without sparing Him."[72] Man is saved by incorporation into Christ:

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[68] This chapter opens with a showing of a Lord and his Servant, "shewed ghostly in bodily likeness, and . . . more ghostly without bodily likeness" (p. 107). The understanding of this allegory as described in this chapter and the next is the fruit of Dame Julian's meditation and of the twenty years of "inward teaching" (p. 110).

[69] Revelations, p. 111. [70] Ibid., p. 116.

[71] Ibid. This passage is reminiscent of an iconographical peculiarity discouraged by the Church, in which the Incarnation is shown in the figure of a naked infant, sometimes carrying a cross, descending from the Father to the Virgin; for example, a fifteenth century alabaster panel at the Victoria and Albert Museum, number A58-1925, and another which shows the cross, number A77-1946.

The harrowing of hell was a popular theme in the Middle Ages. Virtually all of the mystery plays included the scene. And see The Middle-English Harrowing of Hell and Gospel of Nicodemus, ed. by Wm. H. Hulme (London: Early English Text Society, Extra Series 100, 1907).

> For all mankind that shall be saved by the sweet Incarnation and blissful Passion of Christ, all is the Manhood of Christ: for He is the Head and we be His members.[73]

The Servant wears a poor, short, soiled garment which is Adam's nature.[74] The garment is "ragged and rent" in token of the scourging and crowning with thorns and the crucifying, that is, the slaying of the body which was necessary so that He might rise.[75] And then,

> our foul deadly flesh that God's Son took on Him, which was Adam's old kirtle, . . . was . . . by our Saviour made fair, new, white and bright and of endless cleanness. . . .[76]

Throughout Dame Julian's meditation on the Passion, there is the double movement of sorrow because Jesus suffered for our sins, and joy because Jesus so loved us and conquered evil for us. In the later Middle Ages, the emphasis in considerations of the Passion was on the sorrow which it should evoke in man. The sorrow was nourished by vivid description of the pains which Jesus suffered. So, for example, it is common to find descriptions of the scourging at the pillar which insist on the number and severity of the wounds thus inflicted. Margery Kempe says that:

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[72] Revelations, p. 119. See p. 117: "And thus hath our good Lord Jesus taken upon Him all our blame, and therefore our Father nor may nor will more blame assign to us than to His own Son, dearworthy Christ." Good Lordship was the obligation of the medieval lord to protect his dependents, an important element in the social structure.

[73] Ibid., p. 118. Dame Julian is always concerned only with mankind that shall be saved. In the eighth revelation she says, "for every man's sin that shall be saved He suffered" (p. 44). On the one hand, salvation is only through Jesus' sufferings, on the other hand, those sufferings are caused by the sins of those who are to be saved.

[74] Ibid., p. 117.

[75] Ibid., pp. 119-20.

[76] Ibid., p. 120.

> she saw in her contemplation our Lord Ihesu Crist bounden to a pillar, and his hands were bounden above his head. And then she saw sixteen men with sixteen scourges, and each scourge had viii baubles of lead on the end, and every bauble was full of sharp prickles as it had been the rowels of a spur.[77]

And in recounting another of her visions, Margery describes "His precious tender body, all rent and torn with scourges, more full of wounds than ever was dove house of holes."[78] Dame Julian in the fourth revelation:

> saw, beholding, the body plenteously bleeding in seeming of the Scourging, as thus:-- The fair skin was broken full deep into the tender flesh with sharp smiting all about the sweet body.[79]

But Dame Julian, as always, does not dwell on the suffering of the Redeemer without remembering the benefits thus accomplished. The scourged body bled so plenteously that soon she could see nothing but blood.[80] This leads her to think not of the pain which Jesus was suffering, the grievousness of his wounds, but of the salvific value of the blood.

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[77] Book of Margery Kempe, p. 101; I have modernized the spelling. Margery Kempe always speaks of herself in the third person.

[78] Ibid., p. 70.

[79] Revelations, p. 29.

[80] Ibid.

> The dearworthy blood of our Lord Jesus Christ as verily as it is most precious, so verily it is most plenteous. . . . The precious plenty of His dearworthy blood descended down into Hell and burst her bands and delivered all that were there which belonged to the Court of Heaven. The precious plenty of His dearworthy blood overfloweth all Earth, and is ready to wash all creatures of sin, which be of goodwill have been, and shall be.[81]

The blood of Jesus, the blood drawn by the crowning with thorns and the scourging, as well as the blood which flowed from the Five Wounds, was the object of a medieval cult. The blood which streams from the crucified Jesus is the fountain of life,[82] and angels are shown collecting the blood which flows from Jesus on the cross.[83] The blood which Jesus shed heals the sickness of sin.[84]

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[81] *Ibid.*, p. 30. Elaborate invocations of the blood which Jesus shed sometimes even numbered the drops, 28,430 being a common number, see Louis Gougaud, O.S.B., *Devotional and Ascetic Practices in the Middle Ages*, trans. by G. C. Bateman and L. Gougaud (London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 1927), p. 79.

[82] Mâle, *L'art de la fin du Moyen Age*, pp. 112-14.

[83] M. D. Chenu, O.P., "Sang du Christ," *Dictionnaire de la théologie catholique*, XIV, Part I, cols. 1094-97. E. G. Kaiser, "Precious Blood, Theology of," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, XI (1967), 706-707, J. F. Sollier, "Precious Blood," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, XII (1913), 372-73. The Dominicans taught that the Sacred Blood was an essential part of the Humanity of Jesus, and that He reassumed His lost blood at the Resurrection (Summat Theol. III, q. 54, a. 3), a position with which the Franciscans disagreed. The motif of the angels' gathering up the blood is sometimes interpreted in the light of this controversy, but this may be unnecessary. The motif may be inspired by the preciousness of the blood, by its salvific and nourishing value, that is, its Eucharistic connotation, or even sometimes by tradition. Dame Julian says that the blood ascended into heaven to the risen Christ (p. 30).

[84] *Ancren Riwle*, p. 49.

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Not only the blood, but the wounds of Jesus, the "wells of life" as the fifteenth century would name them,[85] were the object of devotion. Bede had written of the wounds of Christ, drawing on the Fathers.[86] St. Bernard (d. 1153) originated the medieval devotion to the Five Wounds,[87] which was to reach a new level of popularity after the stigmatization of St. Francis in 1224.[88] For example, *The Ancren Riwle* recommended prayers in honor of the five wounds.[89] In the fourteenth century, prayers to the wounds appeared in Books of Hours, Masses were said in honor of the wounds,[90] and brotherhoods founded under their patronage.[91] By the end of the next century, the five wounds were a common heraldic device.[92]

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[85] Gougaud, p. 88.

[86] Colledge, p. 131.

[87] For example *In Cant. Cantic*. LXI, Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 183, col. 1071-1072.

[88] Gougaud, p. 81.

[89] *The Ancren Riwle*, p. 10. This was a common theme in vernacular poetry, see, for example, "A Prayer to Be Delivered from the Deadly Sins," *Religious Lyrics*, No. 123.

[90] Gougaud, p. 82. A. Franz, *Die Messe im Deutschen Mittelalter: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Liturgie und des religiösen Volkslebens* (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1902), pp. 157-60. Medieval legend claimed that John the Evangelist had composed the Mass which was miraculously revealed to Pope Boniface II (d. 532), see McNally, *Unreformed Church*, p. 174.

[91] Mâle, *L'art de la fin du Moyen Age*, p. 106.

[92] Gougaud, pp. 90-91. This is a development in keeping with the presentation of Christ as a Knight, a presentation which in the fifteenth century emphasized the form of His Knighthood rather than his martial achievement in defeating Satan, see the late fifteenth century *Liber Armorum* of Julia Bernes, in which Christ appears as a gentleman bearing the coat armor of his ancestors.

The holiest wound was that in the side,[93] from which the Church was born. On a more personal note, medieval religious thought urged sinners to seek refuge in this wound. Dame Julian writes:

> Then with a glad cheer our Lord looked unto His Side and beheld, rejoicing. With His sweet looking He led forth the understanding of His creature by the same wound into His Side within. And then He shewed a fair, delectable place, and large enough for all mankind that shall be saved to rest in peace and in love. And therewith He brought to mind His dearworthy blood and precious water which He let pour all out for love. And with the sweet beholding He shewed His blessed heart even cloven in two.[94]

Dame Julian's vision of the Wound as a place to hide is reminiscent of Bernard's sixty-first sermon on the Canticle of Canticles, already referred to, expounding the text "My dove in the clefts of the rock, in the crannies of the wall, show me your face." Christ is the rock, the crannies of which are His wounds where the soul or the Church, represented by the dove, may hide when she places her trust in the Passion.[95] Again, the tone of Dame Julian's vision is not so much sorrowful as it is joyful, rejoicing.

Medieval religious writing stresses the importance of appreciating the Passion, and Dame Julian's book is a reflection of this attitude. In at least one sense, it is the fruit of the sort of meditation on the Passion urged by such medieval guides as the Ancren Riwle, Richard Rolle, and Walter Hilton. Dame Julian may have received a series of visions of the suffering Christ, but she was already familiar with the Passion and its implications from the religious teaching which formed the staple fare of her day. Before she received any vision of the Passion, she had desired a "true mind of His Passion,"[96] so that she might have compassion with Him and so have a great longing for God.[97] When she describes the vision which she had of the Crucified, her description bears the stamp of her own experience, but it is consonant with the presentation of Jesus which was current in the later Middle Ages. The Lady Julian's description always refers back to the doctrinal basis, the significance of the Passion. The description is, however, as moving as the candid communication of her appreciation of that love can make it. She does not present a detailed narrative of the Passion, did not see the events acted out as did Bridget of Sweden or Bridget's English admirer Margery Kempe. Dame Julian's vision of the Passion was not so much dramatic as vividly pictorial.[98]

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[93] Gougaud cites Bede (p. 93) and St. Bernard (pp. 93, 96), William of St. Thierry (p. 95), as well as Suso, Ludolph of Saxony, and Catherine of Siena (p. 96). He points out the relationship of devotion to the Wound in the Side and to the Sacred Heart (pp. 96-99).

[94] Revelations, p. 51.

[95] Migne, Patrologia Latina 183, col. 1071. See Colledge, pp. 11-12.

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[96] Revelations, p. 4. [97] Ibid., p. 7.

[98] Colledge, pp. 85-86, comments on the vividness of Dame Julian's imagery, and notes that Norwich was an important center of devotional painting and sculpture in our period. Two contemporary painted retables are now in the Cathedral. One may have been commissioned by Henry Bishop Despencer, and shows the scourging, the carrying of the

The whole complex of medieval Passion piety was designed to awaken a realization of Christ's love for man, and this realization was meant to evoke a response of love.[99] This realization was promoted in the later Middle Ages by the assumption of an attitude of imaginatively immediate association with the Suffering Savior, an attitude which we can characterize by the slogan, "as if He were suffering and dying here and now."[100] Christianity is essentially an historical religion, but "perceptive understanding of the historical figure of Christ was far from common in the Middle Ages."[101] This lack of a true historical sense is perhaps the most distinguishing characteristic of medieval religion. The neglect of the historical dimention of the Passion as an event which was completed at a definite point in time was the root of that attitude of which Margery Kempe gives such a succinct statement.

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cross, the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, and the Ascension. The other, slightly later, has been formed from panels once in the church of St. Michael-at-Plea, and shows an archbishop, the Annunciation, the Resurrection, the Crucifixion, St. Erasmus, with panels of the Betrayal, St. Margaret and another Crucifixion also displayed. See Gilbert Thurlow, The Medieval Painted Retables in Norwich Cathedral (Norwich: Jarrold and Sons, 1967).

[99] See Eleanor Prosser, Drama and Religion in the English Mystery Plays: A Re-evaluation (Stanford, Calif.: University Press, 1961), pp. 30-31, on this motive in relation to the plays.

[100] See for example, Mâle, L'art de la fin du Moyen Age, p. 91.

[101] Margaret Aston, The Fifteenth Century: The Prospect of Europe (London, 1968), p. 198.

In a church in Norwich, she saw a Pieta which so moved her that she began to weep noisily. A priest criticized her for this, on the grounds that the Savior was long dead. She replied: "Sir, His death is as fresh to me as He had died this same day, and so, methinketh, it ought to be to you and to all Christian people."[102] Ludolph of Saxony, a Dominican who became a Carthusian, dying in 1378, wrote one of the most popular spiritual books of the Middle Ages, a Vita Christi of which the Hours of the Passion circulated independently. He urged: "Everyone ought . . . to make himself present at every single point of our Lord's Passion. . . ."[103]

This historicizing tendency was, as we indicated in Chapter II, fostered by the development which relegated the commemoration of the salvific drama of Christ's sacrifice to the stage, divorcing it from the celebration of the Presence of the glorified Christ in the Mass.[104] This historicizing led, furthermore, to dramatic descriptions of the event which, in their proliferation of imaginative detail, go far beyond the sober account of Scripture. For example, the Gospel narrative does not even describe the nailing of Jesus to the Cross; we deduce this from the

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[102] Book of Margery Kempe, p. 148, my modernization.

[103] Ludolph of Saxony, The Hours of the Passion (London, 1887), p. 2.

[104] See pp. 69-70.

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description of the wounds which the risen Christ bore. In contrast, consider the account given by St. Bridget:

> He stretched out his right arm, willingly and not forced, and opened His hand and laid it on the Cross. And at once the cruel Jews pierced it with a nail in that very part of the hand where bone is hardest. And after that they dragged His left hand forcibly with ropes and crucified it in the same way. After this they stretched with exceeding force the whole of His body on the cross and laid one shin bone over the other, and fastened the two feet thus joined together with two nails, and stretched His limbs so much that all the veins and nerves were burst.[105]

Examples of this particularly gruesome version of the nailing of Christ to the cross could be multiplied. A roof boss in the nave of Norwich Cathedral, probably somewhat later than Dame Julian's day, shows Christ's limbs being drawn to the holes in the cross.[106] Richard Rolle does mention the use of ropes in binding Christ to the cross, but he concentrates on the use of blunt nails which were selected in order to "burst the skin and the flesh," thus producing greater pain.[107] We have already mentioned the imaginative exaggerations of the wounds inflicted at the scourging, and almost every incident in the Passion was similarly drawn out.

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[105] St. Bridget, *Revelations*, Lib. VII, cap. 15, in Jorgensen, II, 249.

[106] C.J.P. Cave, *Roof Bosses in Medieval Churches* (Cambridge: Univxrsity Press, 1948), p. 33, Plate CLX. Among other literary examples, see *The Northern Passion*, ll. 1605-1635, of Cambridge Ms. Dd. 1, I, and ll. 1620-1635 of British Museum Ms. Harl. 4196; *The Middle English Evangile*, ll. 1482-1487. On the stage tradition, see Anderson, pp. 147-48.

[107] Richard Rolle, "Meditations on The Passion," *Selected Works of Richard Rolle, Hermit*, ed. by G. C. Heseltine (New York, 1930), p. 63. This is the longer of Rolle's meditations on the Passion.

But the method of imagining oneself at the foot of the cross, so to speak, the attempt to picture each detail, was not the only method of making the passion an event here and now. The reverse method was also used. That is, the crucifixion was transposed from the first century to the thirteenth or fourteenth or fifteenth, as the case might be, although this technique was more popular in the later than in the earlier part of the period. "Art may in some ways have contributed to the lack of historical clarity. The Christian story was presented to contemporaries with all the vivid actuality of their own world."[108] In this context, Professor Mâle particularly refers to the common device of placing "portraits" of the artist's patrons in a painting of the passion. As he says: "always these figures seem suffused with recognition and with love; their expressions, their clasped hands say clearly: 'it is for me that He suffered, it is for me that He died.'"[109] Giotto's fresco in the lower church at Assisi shows, to Christ's left, St. Francis with his brothers.[110] Furthermore, the medieval population, of every rank and class, was intensely relic-conscious. The preservation of and devotion to the relics of the Passion again indicates the tendency to think of the Passion as here and now present. Some of the more popular and famous relics are the True Cross, the Crown of Thorns, the nails, the lance, Veronica's kerchief, the shroud, the tears of Christ, drops of His blood.[111]

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[108] Aston, pp. 198-99.

[109] Mâle, L'art de la fin du Moyen Age, p. 91.

[110] Thoby, p. 165, Plate CXXVI, 273.

The purpose of the effort to make the Passion present here and now was to achieve the sense that Christ died _for me_. Religious imagery was intended to facilitate private devotion, the _Andachtsbild_ or private image became an increasingly important form of artistic endeavor.[112] The same tendency led also to the dominance of the affective element,[113] with the presentation of the Passion as an appeal to the heart.[114] The religious sensibility of the medieval soul was enormous, and this extreme sensibility was expressed by actual physical weeping. The "gift of tears" was earnestly sought.[115] In Passion Plays, the Magdalen was frequently represented as having been saved because of her tears.[116] Margery Kempe tells us that Dame Julian spoke to her in praise of the gift of tears.[117] More importantly, from her point of view, she tells us that Christ told her that her tears tormented the devil more than hellfire, while being sweet drink to God, Mary and the saints.[118] Besides the Crucified Christ, Professor Mâle mentions certain other images which were popular during this period as arousing pity, the most characteristic being the naked Christ, seated on a rock at Calvary, awaiting Crucifixion.[119] The theme of Mary's compassio, her association with her Son's Passion was another important aspect of the Passion piety of the period. Margery Kempe gives lengthy passages of dialogue between herself and the sorrowing Mother.[120] Corresponding to the Reproaches composed for Christ are the Lamentations composed for Mary. A sermon on the Passion wrongly attributed to St. Bernard inspired several dialogues between the Mother and Son, the burden of which is always Mary's wish that she could die with her Son.[121] The great plastic version of this theme is, of course, the Pieta with its poignant contrast to the image of the Madonna and Child.[122]

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[111] McNally, _Unreformed Church_, p. 174. Mirgeler, pp. 58-59, on the cult of relics.

[112] Janson, p. 259. Compare Mâle, _L'art de la fin du Moyen Age_, p. 92.

[113] Vandenbroucke, p. 593.

[114] Mâle, _L'art de la fin du Moyen Age_, p. 86.

[115] Huizinga, pp. 173-74.

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[116] Prosser, pp. 33, 133.

[117] Book of Margery Kempe, pp. 42-43.

[118] Ibid., pp. 51-52.

[119] Mâle, L'art de la fin du Moyen Age, pp. 94-96. This is neither the proper "Ecce Homo" nor the true "Christ of Pity."

[120] Book of Margery Kempe, pp. 189-90, for example.

[121] Migne, Patrologia Latina, CLXXXII, col. 1136, for the Pseudo-Bernardine Sermon. Religious Lyrics,

But the emotions of compassion and pity were not the only response evoked by meditation on the Passion. Penance and moral striving were a significant focus of devotion.[123] The great religious sensibility of the Middle Ages certainly did not originate with St. Francis of Assisi[124] (as even a superficial knowledge of St. Bernard makes clear), but, just as certainly, St. Francis' influence was an important factor in the heightened emotionalism of the period, the most important contribution which he made being the publication (against his will) of his reception of the stigmata.[125] Perhaps the most important contribution of the Franciscan attitude toward the Passion is the great emphasis which the Little Brothers placed on the literal imitation of Christ: "At the first,

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No. 128, "The Blessed Virgin to Her Son on the Cross," is especially close to the sermon (see Brown's notes, p. 285). Also see *Religious Lyrics*, No. 67, "Dialogue between Jesus and the Blessed Virgin at the Cross," from Grimestone's Commonplace Book, and No. 64, "Lamentacio Dolorosa," an English lyric from the same source. Grimestone also included an "Appeal by the Blessed Virgin to the Jews," *Religious Lyrics*, No. 60, which Brown says was inspired by the Pseudo-Bernardine *Liber de Passione Christi et Doloribus et Planctibus Matris Eius* (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CLXXXII, col. 1133ff., and *Religious Lyrics*, p. 81).

[122] Mâle, *L'art de la fin du Moyen Age*, pp. 122-32. Janson, pp. 259-60.

[123] McNally, *Unreformed Church*, p. 170.

[124] Mâle, *L'art de la fin du Moyen Age*, p. 87, suggests this.

[125] Pocknee, p. 48. Thoby, pp. 156-60.

needs must we consider how the glorious St. Francis in all the acts of his life was conformed unto Christ the Blessed One."[126] The devotional practice which most clearly indicates the emphasis on the imitatio Christi, as well as illustrating the inclination to think of the Passion as here and now an event with which the individual is associated, is the Stations of the Cross. This devotion originated probably in the traditional practice of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem.[127] The practice of walking from place to place in an ordinary church while meditating on the scenes of the Passion seems to have been followed first by the Dominican mystic Heinrich Suso. Not content with thinking of Christ's actions, he walked about the monastery as a symbol of actually accompanying Christ on the road. He then finished his Via Crucis by figuratively accompanying Mary from the Cross to her home. By the fourteenth century, the Franciscans had been entrusted with the care of the Holy Places in Jerusalem, and they were particularly responsible for the spread of the devotion.[128]

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[126] The Little Flowers of St. Francis, p. 1.

[127] The pilgrimage included a visit to Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre. R. W. Southern, The Making of the Middle Ages (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), pp. 52-53, describes such a pilgrimage undertaken by the Duke of Normandy in 1026, and quotes the description of the impact of the scenes of the Passion on Richard, abbot of St. Vannes in Verdun, leader of the group. The abbot shed copious tears. Among Dame Julian's contemporaries, Bridget of Sweden and Margery Kempe have left detailed descriptions of their pilgrimages to Jerusalem and their experiences at the Holy Places.

Dame Julian's appreciation of the Passion was certainly as lively as that of any medieval writer. She expresses a deeply affective response to the vision of the suffering Savior, a theme which had been the object of her meditation before it became the subject of contemplation. Her dwelling on the Crucified Christ must certainly be attributed to the insistence on this theme in virtually every school of medieval religious devotion and in every genre in which that devotion was expressed. Nonetheless, she is not simply or completely typical of the sort of piety which we have just described. We have said that the root of the characteristic late medieval attitude toward the Passion was the historicizing tendency which made the events a reality here and now. But this is precisely the attitude which Jesus corrects in Dame Julian, in the ninth revelation when she is given to understand that He rejoices for two reasons: that He has redeemed man and that "*He shall no more suffer*."[129] The response which her beholding of the dying Christ evoked in Dame Julian was first of all sorrow and pity and compassion: "When He was in pain, we were in pain."[130] She saw a part (as she modestly says) of the compassion of the Mother,[131] and she saw the effect of the Death on all creatures,[132] but she does not expand on the emotional possibilities of these themes. Her account is simple, with none of the imaginative elaboration or exploitation of drama which is so common among her contemporaries. As has been pointed out by almost all commentators on Dame Julian's book, she is at once deeply affective and deeply doctrinal in her appreciation of the Passion. Dame Julian does not stress the moral implications of the Passion as a model to be imitated.[133] Rather she concentrates on the truth that by His Passion Christ has conquered the Fiend. It is Christ in virtue of His Passion who is man's defender from evil. By his own effort, man is more likely to fall in the ditch than to follow the road, even when his intention is to do right.

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[128] A. Thurston, S.J., *The Stations of the Cross: An Account of Their History and Devotional Purpose* (London, 1906), pp. 1-19, especially. G. C. Alston, "The Way of the Cross," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, XV (1913), 569-71. Alston points out that originally the pilgrims in Jerusalem seem to have begun at Calvary and worked back toward Pilate's house (p. 569). B. Brown, "The Way of the Cross," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, XIV (1967), 832-35. The first indulgence for following the "Stations" outside of Jerusalem was granted for meditation at a set of sculptured stations representing the seven sorrows of Mary in the Franciscan church at Antwerp in 1520 (Alston, p. 569).

[129] *Revelations*, p. 51.

> The Servant not only he goeth [to do his Lord's will], but suddenly he starteth, and runneth in great haste, for love to do his Lord's will. And anon he falleth into a slade, and taketh full great hurt.[134]

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[130] Ibid., p. 40.

[131] Ibid.

[132] Ibid., p. 41.

[133] As for example, the Ancren Riwle did, pp. 46-51. This was the typical Franciscan attitude to the Passion and examples could be multiplied from poetry and from sermons.

[134] Revelations, p. 107.

Sometimes the good Christian was urged to fight sin as in Christ's armor, as in the poem from the end of the fourteenth century, "The Knight of Christ," in which the Christian says that he will take his arms from Christ. His shield is to be the sword which pierced the heart of Mary; the cross will be his banner, and the crown of thorns his helmet, the scourges his sword, and so on.[135] But the Lady Julian does not mention the need to be armed with Christ's weapons. On the contrary, she thinks of the soul as clothed in the goodness of God, which protects it from harm:

> For as the body is clad in the cloth, and the flesh in the skin, and the bones in the flesh, and the heart in the bulk, so are ye, soul and body, clad in the Goodness of God.[136]

This is in the vein of another lyric of the latter part of the century:

> I would be clad in Christ's skin
> that ran so long in blood.[137]

The cause of Christ's joy in His Passion is that by it He has redeemed the world. His excruciating thirst on the Cross, described in the eighth revelation,[138] was paralleled by a spiritual thirst, Christ's desire for those who are to be saved.[139] The redeemed soul responds to the Redeemer's desire, and is, thus, able to share in His joy. If Dame Julian's first response to the Passion is sorrow and compassion, her ultimate response is joy. She can say with St. Anselm:

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[135] Religious Lyrics, No. 125, esp. ll. 11-23.

[136] Revelations, pp. 13-14.

[137] Religious Lyrics, No. 71, "I Would Be Clad in Christ's Skin," ll. 3-4. The poem is from the Commonplace Book.

[138] Revelations, pp. 37-38.

> Shall I rejoice or sorrow over your death? . . . I shall rejoice over the inherited grace and over the dying love. . . . But first I shall sorrow over the cause of death, that is over the consciousness of sin, and I will condole with the dying. If I do not rejoice, I am ungrateful; if I do not sorrow, I am cruel.[140]

The reason that Dame Julian's sorrow is itself the cause, as it were, of her bliss is that she enters deeply into the significance of the Passion. Moreover, she understands that the satisfaction worked by the suffering Christ was not just an external or legal repayment of a debt due to God from man. It was, literally, atonement, the bringing about of reconciliation in the most radical sense, because in the Incarnation man is "worshipfully brought up into heaven and blissfully oned to our Substance."[141]

We shall have occasion in the later chapters of this thesis to return to Dame Julian's understanding of the meaning of the Passion, because the Passion was the basis of her beholding of the divine love. She saw all that she saw in Christ, "and Him Crucified." The Passion was for Dame Julian a truly moving image which did indeed speak to her heart. But it was also the basis of a full theology of the divine Presence. The Trinity is Present in Creation in its Goodness, and that Goodness is first of all manifested to the saved soul in the saving act of the Passion.

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[139] Ibid., pp. 63-64. Note that this is an inversion of the theme of our thirst for Christ, the living water of Jn. 4: 10-14; 7: 37-39. Compare, for example, The Dialogue of the Seraphic Virgin St. Catherine of Siena, ed. by Algar Thorold (Westminster; Md.: Newman Press, 1950), p. 136.

[140] Sermo de Passione Domini, col. 676.

[141] Revelations, p. 146; "substance" refers to man's higher nature. On the assumption of man's nature, see also pp. 116-19, already discussed.

XUM

CHAPTER V

THE IMAGE OF JESUS AS MOTHER

If the Passion is for Dame Julian the great revelation of God's love for man, her meditation on that love led her to an appreciation of Jesus Christ as man's Mother.[1] This was not an original theme with Dame Julian. Christian writers had for centuries spoken of the birth of the Church from the side of Christ.[2] We have seen that in the thirteenth century depictions of the Crucifixion, the Church appeared in the figure of a woman standing at Christ's right side with a chalice into which flowed blood from the wound in Christ's side. This idea of the birth of the Church was an element in the devotion to the Holy Wound in the Side.[3] Dame Julian does not use the image of the Church as such being born from Christ's side, she speaks directly of Christ's bearing "us." However, we recall that Dame Julian's concern is always with the saved, and that it was a common medieval idea that salvation was in the Church. In other words, the "us" born from the side of Christ is "my even-Christians."

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[1] The main discussion of this theme in the _Revelations of Divine Love_ is in chapters 59-61, which are part of the section headed "Anent Certain Points," which certainly incorporates the "inward teaching" of the years after the revelations, and which may be said to be the fruit of Dame Julian's meditation on those revelations.

[2] See for example, St. Augustine, _In Johannem, Tract. CXX_, Migne, _Patrologia Latina_, XXV, col. 1053, where a parallel is made between this birth and Eve's creation from Adam's side. Among Dame Julian's contemporaries, see Ludolph of Saxony, p. 137. See on this, Gougaud, p. 95.

[3] _Supra_, pp. 144, 163.

There is another tradition, however, as to the maternal significance of the death on the Cross, an interpretation based on "the fundamental idea that Christ has given birth to us on the Cross, and that the pains of His Passion have been the sufferings of our spiritual forthbringing."[4] From this point of view, it is not the Church, but rather Christians who were brought forth from the side of Christ: "All Christendom sprang from Christ's blood on Calvary."[5] This is the attitude which is reflected in Dame Julian's writing. Devotion to Jesus as Mother was known in the patristic age,[6] but the popularization of the devotion, based on a particular emphasis on the maternal significance of the Death on the Cross can be traced to the influence of St. Anselm of Canterbury (d. 1109). In the context of a prayer to St. Paul, St. Anselm says:

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[4] Dom André Cabassut, "Une dévotion médiévale peu connue: la dévotion à Jésus 'notre mère,'" *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique*, XCIX-C (1949), 239, quoted in Molinari, p. 171.

[5] Langland, Passus XI, l. 194.

[6] Cabassut, pp. 236-38, for reference to the apocryphal *Acts of St. Peter* and to St. John Chrysostom. M. Cabassut refers to Is. 49: 1, 15; 66: 13; and to Matt. 23: 37, as indicating some Scriptural basis for the devotion.

> Sed et tu, Jesu, bone Domine, nonne et tu mater? Annon es mater; qui tanquam gallina quae congregat sub alas pullos suos? Vere, Domine, et tu mater. Nam quod alii parturierunt et peperunt, a te acceperunt. Tu prius propter illos, et quos peperunt, parturiendo mortuus es, et moriendo peperisti. Nam nisi parturiises, mortuus non esses; et nisi mortuus esses, non peperisses. Desiderio enim gignendi filios ad vitam, mortem gustasti, et moriens genuisti. . . . Gratias ago; filium me genuistis cum Christianum me facistis. . . .[7]

The essential idea here is that Jesus labored to bring forth Christians, that His reason for dying was to bring forth sons to life. The specifically maternal note is found in the notion of the labor, parturition not just generation.

St. Anselm's prayers were widely known in England and on the Continent, especially through the influence of the Cistercians and the Carthusians,[8] and the "Oratio LXV" in which the Saint honored Jesus as Mother was evidently the source of inspiration for many later religious writers.[9] For example, Mechtilde of Hackeborn (d. 1298) and Marguerite d'Oyngt (d. 1310) both expressed devotion to the maternity of Jesus.[10] Father McNally has translated a passage in which the Prioress Marguerite voices the idea that Jesus' death pains were the birth pains which brought us to spiritual life:

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[7] St. Anselm, "Oratio LXV," Migne, Patrologia Latina, CLVIII, col. 981-982.

[8] Cabassut, p. 239. On the particular influence of the Carthusians on English spirituality, see Chapter II, supra.

[9] Cabassut, p. 239. On the authencity of this prayer as a work of St. Anselm, see Molinari's bibliography, p. 170, where it is indicated that A. Wilmart, O.S.B., has established the attribution of the prayer to St. Anselm.

> Are you not, Christ, my Mother and more than a mother? The mother, who bore me, knew the pains of labor perhaps through a day and a night. But, beautiful, sweet Lord, on my account . . . you have labored thirty years.[11] Ah, beautiful, sweet Lord, how bitterly you labored for me. . . . But when the time came in which you had to beget me, so great was your labor that your holy sweat was like drops of blood which rushed over your body and down to the ground.[12]

It has been suggested that this devotion is typical of late medieval sentimentality, an entirely emotional response to "sweet Jesus."[13] The maternal image is certainly a tender one, but while tender, it is not necessarily sentimental. Dame Julian particularly draws out the doctrinal implications as well as the affective impact of the image, until it indeed becomes "a pillar of her teaching."[14]

The Lady Julian perceives three aspects of the Divine Motherhood: Creation, Incarnation and Redemption:

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[10] Cabassut, pp. 240-41. I do not know of any pictorial or plastic presentation of the image of Jesus as Mother, and it would be hard to avoid the grotesque in any visual presentation.

[11] We may note that at least some mention is made here of Jesus' total earthly life even though the emphasis is on the Passion, and that this evaluation of the whole earthly ministry as salvific is characteristically Benedictine.

[12] McNally, Unreformed Church, p. 176.

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 175-76. [14] Molinari, p. 171.

> All the fair working and all the sweet natural office of dearworthy Motherhood is impropriated to the Second Person: for in Him we have this Godly Will[15] whole and safe without end, both in Nature and in Grace, of His own proper Goodness. I understand three manners of beholding of Motherhood in God: the first is grounded in our Nature's making; the second is taking of our nature,--and there beginneth the Motherhood of Grace; the third is Motherhood of working,--and therein is a forthspreading by the same Grace, of length and breadth and height and of deepness without end. And all is one Love.[16]

Here the Lady Julian refers to the totality of the Divine Maternity in its logically distinct and successive moments.

The first moment of the Divine Motherhood is the Motherhood of Making. The theme of the Mother as the Matrix or Ground of existence is not developed in Dame Julian's thought, because she focuses on the personal rather than on the metaphysical significance of the theme, just as she never develops the metaphysical implications of the concept of Jesus Christ as our Ground.[17] The idea of the Maternal Matrix can be found in Dame Julian's book, but always with the note of personality.

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[15] Again we see that Dame Julian is concerned only with those who are saved.

[16] Revelations., pp. 148-49. Molinari, p. 171, mentions four aspects of the Divine Maternity: Creation, Incarnation, Redemption and Providence. I assimilate Providence to Redemption partly in order to conform with Dame Julian's threefold scheme, and partly because in Dame Julian's whole thought the applications of the fruits of the Passion to those who are saved is immediately associated with the process of Redemption (see p. 175, supra). Furthermore, she appropriates "rewarding and giving" to the Holy Ghost (Revelations, p. 146).

[17] Ibid., pp. 56, 69, 84, on Jesus as Ground.

> By the endless assent of full accord of all the Trinity, the Mid-Person willed to be Ground and Head of this fair Kind[18]: out of Whom we be all come, in Whom we be all enclosed, into Whom we shall all wend.[19]

Here the Motherhood of Making is attributed to the whole Trinity. We are enclosed in the Three Persons, and they are in us.[20] But the creation of mankind is also attributed to the Father, from whom we have our substance, our higher nature.[21]

> In our Father, God almighty, we have our being; and in our Mother of Mercy we have our reforming and restoring. . . .[22]

Nonetheless, the Mother, Wisdom, the Second Person of the Trinity, and the Holy Ghost as well, make man's substance, which is "whole in each Person of the Trinity, which is one God."[23]

The Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost are the Mother of our substance, but only the Second Person is the Mother of our sense-soul, or lower part.

> For we are double by God's making: that is to say, substantial and sensual. Our substance is the higher part, which we have in our Father, God Almighty; and the Second Person of the Trinity is our Mother in Nature, in making of our Substance: in whom we are grounded and

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[18] "This fair Kind" means human nature.

[19] _Ibid_., p. 128.

[20] _Ibid_., p. 131.

[21] _Ibid_., pp. 144-45. On Dame Julian's psychology, see Chapter VII, _infra_, on the Divine Indwelling.

[22] _Revelations_, p. 146.

[23] _Ibid_.

> rooted. And He is our Mother in Mercy, in taking of our Sense-Part.[24]

The Motherhood of Taking is the assumption of a human nature by the Second Person, which He did so that He might perform for us "the service and the office of Motherhood in all things."[25] That is, before He could exercise the Motherhood of Working, which is rooted, as we shall see, in His Death, He had to take to Himself our human, sensual nature: the salvific death necessarily presupposes the Incarnation. The Incarnation itself sanctifies the sensual human nature which was assumed: "[In the] taking of our nature . . . beginneth the Motherhood of Grace."[26]

The Lady Julian concentrates her attention on the Motherhood of Working: "But now behoveth to say a little more of this forth-spreading."[27] The root of this aspect of Jesus' Maternity is, for Dame Julian as for St. Anselm, the idea that Jesus gave birth to us on the Cross.

> We know that all our mothers' bearing is (bearing of) us to pain and to dying: and what is this but that our very Mother, Jesus, He--All-Love--beareth us to joy and to endless living? . . . Thus He sustaineth us within Himself in love; and travailed unto the full time that He would suffer the sharpest throes and the most grievous pains that ever were or ever shall be; and died at the last. And when He had finished, and so borne us to bliss, yet might not all this make full content to His marvellous love; and that sheweth He these high overpassing words of love: _If I might suffer more, I would suffer_

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[24] _Ibid._, p. 145.

[25] _Ibid._, p. 149.

[26] _Ibid._, pp. 148-49.

[27] _Ibid._, p. 149.

more.[28]

This "new birth" is our salvation:

> For in our Mother Christ we profit and increase, and in Mercy He reformeth us and restoreth, and, by the virtue of His Passion and His Death and Uprising, oneth us to our Substance.[29]

This being "oned to our Substance" means that our "lower part," our "sense-soul" which has been alienated from God by sin and assumed by Jesus Christ in the Incarnation, is brought to heaven by Jesus and so reconciled to our "higher part," which is in the Three Persons of the Trinity. This is the Atonement, which is the work of the Second Person of the Trinity. And this is the fullness of the Divine Maternity: "Jesus Christ that doeth good against evil is our Very Mother."[30]

In attributing man's salvation to the maternal death of Jesus on the Cross, Dame Julian is very close to St. Anselm's presentation of the maternal significance of that death. This theme is, however, much more central to her experience of Christ that it seems to have been to the Archbishop's, and she dwells on it at greater length, developing the implications for her spiritual life. In the ninth revelation, Jesus had told the Lady Julian that "it is a joy, a bliss, an endless satisfying to me that ever I suffered Passion for thee; and if I might suffer more, I would suffer more."[31] Later, as she meditates on the "marvelous love" which made Jesus suffer the labor of bearing us on the Cross, she recalls these words.[32] He could not die again, but He would continue to work for us. His death and our birth were once and for all. But having borne us, He would nourish us; indeed, having borne us, He must feed us:

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[28] Ibid., p. 150.

[29] Ibid., p. 145.

[30] Ibid., p. 147.

[31] Ibid., p. 47.

> He might no more die, but He would not stint of working: wherefore then it behoveth Him to feed us; for the dearworthy love of Motherhood hath made Him debtor to us.[33]

The doctrine of Jesus feeding His followers is, of course, as old as Christianity, but here it is given a maternal reference by a comparison between the mother nursing her child on her own milk and "our precious Mother, Jesus, [feeding] us with Himself."[34] St. Anselm touches on the nourishment with which the Christian is provided under the aspect of St. Paul's participation in feeding the faithful the meat of true doctrine:

> O sancte Paule, ubi est illa nominata nutrix fidelium, forens filios suos? . . . Dulcis nutrix, dulcis mater, quos filios parturis aut nutris, nisi quos in fide Christi docens gignis et erudis?[35]

For Dame Julian, however, the nourishment is specifically Eucharistic. Here we see the English anchoress going beyond the Archbishop in her development of the theme of the divine maternity.

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[32] Ibid., p. 150.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid.

[35] St. Anselm, "Oratio LXV," col. 981.

Interestingly, even where the maternal theme is not explicitly used by a religious writer, some echo of it may be traced in this image of Jesus feeding man. For example, in Piers Plowman, we read:

> . . . the sun lost its life for a time
> At the brightest hour, midday, the mealtime
> of saints.
> You fed with your fresh blood our forefathers
> in darkness.[36]

That Langland was familiar with the theme of Jesus as Mother, in some sense at least, is indicated by his further affirmation:

> All Christendom sprang from Christ's blood on Calvary.
> We became blood brothers there, made into one Body;
> "As new-born babes" we acquired noble birth.[37]

In his Regula, Aelred of Rievaulx also touches the note of Jesus' maternal nourishment of man:

> Run, sister, to the breast of His Humanity, and drink the milk from it, so that you may be fed in spirit with thoughts of what He did for us in our flesh.[38]

On the other hand, there are many, like St. Catherine of Siena, whose vision of Maternity centers around the Church. St. Catherine, for example, refers to Christ's ministers,

> who stand and feed at the breasts of Holy Church; and . . . it is also their duty to . . . hold to

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[36] Langland, Passus V, ll. 499-501.

[37] *Ibid.*, Passus XI, ll. 194-196.

[38] Aelred of Rievaulx, *A Letter to His Sister*, ed. by Geoffrey Webb and Adrian Walker from the Latin and Middle English *Regula Heremetica* (London: A. R. Mowbray, 1957).

> those breasts the universal body of Christian
> people. . . . See . . . with what filthy
> hands are handled this glorious milk and blood
> of My spouse [the Church]. . . .[39]

Here the connection between nourishment and maternity is maintained in the reference to the milk and breasts, but the maternal referent is the Church. Dame Julian identifies Christ and the Church, however: "All the health and life of Sacraments, all the virtue and grace of My Word, all the Goodness that is ordained in Holy Church for thee, I it am."[40] Dame Julian seems to understand the Church as the available presence of the Divine Mother:

> He willeth that we take us mightily to the Faith of Holy Church and find there our dearworthy Mother, in solace of true Understanding, with all the blessed Common. . . . And . . . a sure thing it is, a good and a gracious, to will meekly and mightily to be fastened and oned to our Mother, Holy Church, that is, Christ Jesus.[41]

The image of the Church as Mother is more usual than is Dame Julian's image of Christ the Mother, but her imagery is not unique. The notion of Jesus' maternity is to be found even in vernacular religious lyrics in fourteenth century England:

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[39] St. Catherine of Siena, pp. 65-66.

[40] Revelations, p. 150. See pp. 54-55, the twelfth revelation. See C. Pepler, O.P., "The Mystical Body in the English Mystics," Clergy Review, XXIII (1943), 49-59. Molinari, p. 173, note 1.

[41] Revelations, p. 154.

XUM

As mother, of Him I may make mind
That before my birth to me took heed,
And sithen with baptism washed the strynd
That filed was with Adam deed.
With noble meat He nourished my kind,
For with His flesh He did me feed. . . .[42]

Striking as is the image of Jesus the Mother who brought forth Christians on the Cross and nourishes them with His blood, there is a deeper resonance to this theme; the maternity of Jesus is fundamental to the Lady Julian's spirituality because trust in God's motherly love is the justification for her utter reliance on Him, and for her consequent optimism.[43] The maternity of Jesus is an important element in Dame Julian's experience of union with God.[44] The nature of maternal love, that is, the relationship of the Mother and Child is more important than is

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[42] Religious Lyrics, No. 48, "The Sweetness of Jesus," ll. 25-30, my modernization. Brown, p. xvi, mentions this poem as an example of "the heightened emotion and warmth of feeling characteristic of religious thought from the mid-fourteenth century. In the preceding stanza, Jesus is referred to as Father, and in the succeeding stanza as brother and sister.

[43] It is interesting that St. Catherine of Siena, who does not use the image of the divine maternity, does speak of the saved as being able to endure the trials of the world and the devil because, "they remain attached to [Christ] by the umbilical cord of fiery desire" (p. 216). Throughout the Dialogues, Jesus often addresses Catherine as daughter, and the reader assumes a paternal relationship, but in this case there is the note of the attachment between the child and its mother. Nevertheless, in St. Catherine's case, too much should not be made of the use of the symbol of the umbilical cord. Not only is the maternal image never developed, but St. Catherine's imagery is often confused (Thorold, "Introduction," p. 25).

[44] Molinari, pp. 174-76.

Jesus's similarity to a Mother or the Christian's resemblance to a child[45]; the point of the analogy is the relationship.

> The Mother's service is nearest, readiest, and surest: nearest, for it is most of nature; readiest, for it is most of love; and surest, for it is most of truth. This office none might, nor could, nor ever should do to the full, but He alone.[46]
>
> This fair lovely word Mother, it is so sweet and so close in Nature of itself that it may not verily be said of none but of Him; and to her that is very Mother of Him and of all.[47]

So truly is Jesus our Mother that He is the Ground of Motherhood: "We have our being of Him,--where the Ground of Motherhood beginneth,--with all the sweet Keeping of Love that endlessly followeth."[48] His Motherhood is revealed to us in the Passion, where He brings us forth to endless living. Meditation unfolds the further implications of His maternity. He feeds us with Himself, and He keeps us in His loving embrace, more closely and tenderly than can any natural mother.

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[45] The Christian's resemblance to a child is referred to once, in another context. "I saw a body lying on the earth, which body shewed heavy and horrible, without shape and form, as it were a swollen quag of stinking mire. And suddenly out of this body sprang a full fair creature, a little Child, fully shapen and formed, nimble and lively, whiter than lily; which swiftly glided up into heaven. And the swollenness of the body betokeneth great wretchedness of our deadly flesh, and the littleness of the Child betokeneth the cleanness of purity in the soul" (Revelations, pp. 160-61).

[46] Ibid., pp. 149-50.

[47] Ibid., p. 151.

[48] Ibid., p. 147.

> The Mother may lay the child tenderly to her breast, but our tender Mother, Jesus, He may homely lead us into His blessed breast, by His sweet open side, and shew therein part of the Godhead and the joys of Heaven, with spiritual sureness of endless bliss.[49]

The maternity of Jesus is not described in terms of an issuing forth of offspring from the wound in Christ's side, as may be inferred from Langland's "All Christendom sprang from Christ's blood on Calvary," but the wound in Christ's side does have a maternal significance as the entrance into the full maternal embrace, in the tradition of St. Bernard's image of entering into the Rock, Christ, through the cranny of the wound.[50]

The care which a natural mother exercises over her child is consummated in the care which Jesus takes of His children.

> To the property of Motherhood belongeth natural love, wisdom and knowing; and it is good: for though it be so that our bodily forthbringing be but little, low and simple in regard of our spiritual forthbringing, yet it is He that doeth it in the creatures by whom that it is done. The Kindly[51] loving Mother that witteth and knoweth the need of her child, she keepeth it full tenderly, as the nature and condition of Motherhood will. . . . And in our spiritual forthbringing He useth more tenderness of keeping, without any

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[49] Ibid., pp. 150-51. Dame Julian recalls the tenth revelation, where Jesus looked into His side, rejoicing.

[50] Supra, p. 163.

[51] This is Miss Warrack's translation of "kynde," which might perhaps be better translated "natural."

> likeness: by as much as our soul is of more price in His sight.[52]

Dame Julian has a high opinion of Motherhood, because it is a reflection of the Divine Goodness, and an implication of that Goodness. Jesus moves the natural mother, her care is a consequence of His working in her. And her care is a symbol of the greater care which Jesus has for the soul.

That most popular of medieval spiritual guides, The Ancren Riwle, uses the image of the mother and child to illustrate the reason why God allows the soul to be tempted.

> The sixth comfort [in temptation] is, that our Lord, when He suffereth us to be tempted, playeth with us, as the mother with her young darling: she flies from him, and hides herself, and lets him sit alone, and look anxiously around, and call Dame! Dame! and weep awhile; and then she leapeth forth laughing, with outspread arms, and embraceth and kisseth him, and wipeth his eyes. In like manner, our Lord sometimes leaveth us alone, and withdraweth His grace, His comfort and His support, so that we feel no delight in any good that we do, nor any satisfaction of heart; and yet at that very time, our dear Father loveth us never the less, but doth it for the great love that He hath to us.[53]
>
> The fourth reason why our Lord hideth Himself is, that thou mayest seek Him more earnestly, and call and weep after Him, as the little baby doth after His mother.[54]

This author has not described Jesus as the Mother, indeed, has rather referred to the Divine Paternity. Nonetheless, the relationship between Mother and Child is selected as a fitting illustration of the attitude to be assumed before God in response to His care for us: "call . . . as the little baby doth after His mother." So the Lday Julian explains:

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[52] Ibid., pp. 151, 152.

[53] The Ancren Riwle, p. 103. Translation by Warrack, Revelations, p. 152, note 2.

[54] The Ancren Riwle, p. 107. Translation, ibid.

> The mother may suffer the child to fall sometimes, and to be hurt in diverse manners for its own profit, but she may never suffer that any manner of peril come to the child, for love.[55]
>
> But oftentimes when our falling and our wretchedness is shewed us, we are so sore adread, and so greatly ashamed of our self, that scarcely we find where we may hold us. But then willeth not our courteous Mother that we flee away, for Him nothing were lother. But He willeth then that we use the condition of a child, . . . that evermore of nature trusteth to the love of the mother in weal and in woe.[56]

Love is the theme of the Lady Julian's spiritual life. She received "Sixteen Revelations of Divine Love," and her meditations on those revelations as well as the "inward teaching" which she had in her later life, all led her to realize that "Love was His meaning." Her apprehension of the Divine Maternity is an apprehension of a mode of the Divine

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[55] Revelations, p. 154. Also: "As [the Child] waxeth in age, [the Mother] changeth her working, but not her love. And when it is waxen of more age, she suffereth that it be beaten in breaking down of vices, to make the child receive virtues and graces" (p. 151). The Lady Julian knew that sometimes a natural mother may fail to fulfill her role, but Jesus never so fails: "Though our earthly mother may suffer her child to perish, our heavenly Mother, Jesus, may not suffer us that are His children to perish. . . ." (p. 154).

[56] Ibid.

Love: "Jesus Christ that doeth good against evil is our Very Mother: we have our Being of Him--where the Ground of Motherhood beginneth,--with all the sweet Keeping of Love that endlessly followeth."[57] The symbol of Jesus as Mother is not, as we have seen, original with Dame Julian. Far more common, however, among those mystics who describe a personal experience of the divine is the symbolism of a marital relationship between Jesus and the soul.

The relationship of Christ to the Church had been likened to that of husband and wife by St. Paul in his Letter to the Ephesians, 5: 21-33. The most ancient, and in the Middle Ages the best known and most influential expression of the marital theme was the Song of Songs. St. Bernard (d. 1153) was not the only medieval preacher to explicate this poem, but so fine and so far known were his eighty-six sermons that he made the text peculiarly his own, virtually canonizing that interpretation by which the Bridegroom stands for Christ and the Bride for the Church or the soul.[58]

> "Let Him kiss me with the kisses of His mouth." Who is it speaks these words? It is the Bride. Who is the Bride? It is the soul thirsting for God. . . . [There are not] found any expressions equally sweet to signify the mutual affection between the Word of God and the soul, as those of Bridegroom and Bride; inasmuch as between individuals who stand in such relation to each other

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[57] *Ibid.*, p. 147.

[58] Christ is the Bridegroom of the Church; He is married to the soul of the perfect Christian and the unperfected souls are the companions of the Bride.

> all things are in common, and they possess nothing separate or divided. They have one inheritance, one dwelling-place, one table, and they are in fact one flesh. If, then, mutual love is especially befitting to a bride and bridegroom, it is not unfitting that the name of Bride is given to a soul which loves.[59]

St. Bernard's description of the relationship between Christ and the soul had a great impact on medieval mysticism, but the Cistercian was not responsible for the most detailed analysis of that relationship using the imagery of marital love. Richard of St. Victor (d. 1173) worked out quite an elaborate description of mystical union using this symbolism in *De Quatuor Gradibus Violentae Charitatis*. Union is attained in four stages, which he names the betrothal, the marriage, wedlock, and the fruitfulness of the soul.[60]

The tradition of *Brautmystik* was especially suited, though by no means limited to development as a model of the spiritual life of religious women. As Miss Underhill says:

> To women mystics of the . . . Church, familiar with the antique and poetic metaphor which called every cloistered nun the Bride of Christ, that crisis in their spiritual history in which they definitely vowed themselves to the service of Transcendent Reality seemed, naturally enough, the veritable betrothal of the soul. . . . That

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[59] St. Bernard, "In Cantica Canticarum," VII, translated and quoted in Underhill, *Mysticism*, pp. 137-38. See Butler, pp. 160ff.

[60] Underhill, *Mysticism*, pp. 139-40. Miss Underhill points out that Richard's system goes further than "most mystical diagrams," to describe the completion of the mystical life in fruition (p. 140). See *De Quatuor Gradibus Violentae Charitatis* in Ives, *Epitre à Severin sur la charité: Richard de Saint-Victor, les quatre degrés de la*

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> further progress on the mystic way which brought with it a sharp and permanent consciousness of union with the Divine Will, the constant sustaining presence of a Divine Companion, became . . . Spiritual Marriage.[61]

The Ancren Riwle refers to the soul as God's spouse, and to Christ as the soul's "dearworthy spouse."[62] And Aelred of Rievaulx says that the anchoress has been chosen by Christ as His spouse, and she must make herself ready for Him.[63] She must adorn her soul as befits the daughter of a king because she has married a King's Son.[64] Among Dame Julian's contemporaries, Margery Kempe and St. Bridget refer to the mystical marriage, but it is St. Catherine of Siena who is most identified with this attitude. In the winter of 1366, after years of having led a strict life dedicated to God, during which she had often heard the promise of a Sacred Betrothal, St. Catherine heard a voice say, "I will this day celebrate solemnly with thee the feast of the betrothal of thy soul, and even as I promised I will espouse thee to Myself in faith." Then, in the presence of John the Evangelist, Paul and Dominic, to the

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violente charité, ed. by Gervais Dumeige (Paris: Vrin, 1955).

[61] Underhill, *Mysticism*, p. 138.

[62] *The Ancren Riwle*, p. 1 and pp. 39, 177-83, the latter for the figure of wooing.

[63] Aelred, chap. I, esp. p. 16. (This is chap. 21 of the full *Regula*.)

[64] *Ibid.*, chap. V, pp. 24-26 (chap. XXV of the full *Regula*).

accompaniment of David's music,

> the Virgin Mother of God took the right hand of Catherine with her most sacred hand, and, holding out her fingers towards the Son, besought Him to deign to espouse her to Himself in faith. To which graciously consenting, the Only Begotten of God drew out a ring of gold, which had in its circle four pearls enclosing a most beauteous diamond; and placing this ring upon the ring finger of Catherine's right hand He said, "Lo, I espouse thee to Myself, thy Creator and Savior in the faith, which until thou dost celebrate thy eternal nuptials with Me in Heaven thou wilt preserve ever without stain. Henceforth, my daughter, do manfully and without hesitation those things which by the ordering of My providence will be put into thy hands; for being now armed with the fortitude of the faith, thou wilt happily overcome all thy adversaries.[65]

The main characteristics which mark the experience of the spiritual marriage are, first and chiefly, the intimacy of the union which exists between husband and wife. "All things are in common, and they possess nothing separate or divided." The very person of the one belongs to the other. Following on this note of intimacy is the note of mutuality: the Bride and Bridegroom share everything, and they are each responsible for the other. Thirdly, at least in the medieval European concept of marriage, the husband was the dominant figure, the head of the wife, and even so was Christ the head of the soul. The soul was to be yielding, buxom in the medieval usage, to her Bridegroom. "The elements of duty, constancy, irrevocableness, and lov obedience involved in the medieval conception of the marriage tie, made it an apt image of a spiritual state in which humility, intimacy, and love were the dominant characteristics."[66] Fourthly, the expression of marital love has a quality which in the religious metaphor may be described as rapture or ecstasy.[67] Finally, marital love is by design fruitful. Dame Julian does note the comparison of the relationship between God and the soul to that between man and wife: "In the knitting and the oneing He is our Very, True Spouse, and we His loved Wife, His Fair Maiden: with which Wife He is never displeased."[68] God's Son is the soul's spouse, who would live in peace with His wife.[69] This fills God with joy, as Dame Julian writes:

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[65] *S. Catherinae Senensis Vitae*, I, xii, 1, 2, translated and quoted in Underhill, *Mysticism*, p. 291. St. Catherine could always see the ring on her hand, although it was invisible to everyone else.

> I saw that God rejoiceth that He is our Father, and God rejoiceth that He is our Mother, and God rejoiceth that He is our Very Spouse and our soul is His loved wife. And Christ rejoiceth that He is our Brother, and Jesus rejoiceth that He is our Savior.[70]

Dame Julian nowhere dwells on Jesus' husbandly love for the soul, nor draws out the implications of this theme. Rather, her most developed symbol of the relationship between Jesus and the soul is that of the mother and child.

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[66] Underhill, Mysticism, p. 138.

[67] Miss Underhill, ibid., p. 137, very well criticizes the attribution of a "prurient imagination" to the mystics who speak of their union with the divine under the metaphor of marital love.

[68] Revelations, p. 143.

[69] Ibid., p. 121.

[70] Ibid., p. 122.

The Lady Julian was not writing a scholarly thesis nor a dogmatic tract. She was recording her own experience of the divine love. Her selection of the image of maternity must, therefore, reflect her own most intimate experience of the Divine. What light does her use of the one symbol rather than the other throw on her own experience?

Dame Julian insisted, as we have seen that Jesus' maternal love is the very Ground of all maternity. If the mother's service is "nearest, readiest and surest," Jesus' office is more intimate than is that of any natural mother. The graphic description of this is the figure of Jesus' "leading us into His blessed breast, by His sweet open side." There is an obvious assimilation which we may be tempted to make here to the inclusion of the child within the mother's womb. But this does not seem to be specifically on Dame Julian's mind in this exact context, and, as previously pointed out, she does not describe the issuance of the soul from the wound or graphically specify the parturition, the "spiritual forthbringing." She does, however, speak of our being "enclosed in Christ": "our Savior is our Very Mother in whom we be endlessly borne, and never shall come out of Him."[71] Dame Julian remembers that in the first revelation, she was told: "We are all in Him enclosed and He is enclosed in us." There is no clear or schematic development here: we are born, brought forth, and we are "endlessly borne, and never shall come out of Him." Certainly for the Lady Julian, the maternal relationship is most intimate, but the intimacy of mother and child does not imply the mutual rights over each other's persons which are implied by the marital relationship. Having borne the child, the mother must feed him, but this is the fulfillment of a dependency which the child has on its mother, not strictly the satisfaction of a personal right over the mother as the husband or wife has rights over the spouse. Nor is there the mutuality of responsibility between mother and child as there is between husband and wife. The child depends on the mother, the mother guides and nourishes the child. "He willeth then that we use the property of a child, that evermore of nature trusteth to the love of the mother." Both the wife and the child are well advised to be buxom to the Lord, but in the context of the filial relationship, Dame Julian's theme is not chiefly obedience but trust. In this context, she does not mention fruitfulness, but, as we saw in Chapter III, in her whole understanding of the spiritual life, charity and service are important elements. So, while the image of the mother and child does not express the note of fecundity except under the aspect of the mother's bringing forth the child, in Dame Julian's whole experience the soul is bound to loving remembrance of her even-Christians, the fruitfulness of charity. "In all this I was greatly stirred in charity to mine even Christians, that they might see and

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[71] Ibid., p. 140. See p. 139, note 4, on the manuscript use of "borne" for both "born" and "borne."

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know the same that I saw."[72] Finally, we may say that the relationship between mother and child is not ecstatic or rapturous. Their love is more properly described as stable, tender, intimate, but not transforming; in short, by Dame Julian's favorite adjective, homely.[73]

Many historians mention the domestic character of medieval English spirituality in comparison, for example, with the German or Italian enthusiasm. Commonly, this domestic, familial tendency is traced to the Benedictine influence. As one student of the period has said, "The Middle English writings, in particular, give rise to a whole new spiritual vocabulary of a pronounced 'domestic' flavor. . . . St. Benedict's family theme remains constant: it may be a hard home but it is not a barracks."[74] Dame Julian's experience of Jesus as Mother is certainly at least consonant with the "domestic" emphasis. We have seen, in Chapter III, that the life of the anchorite, while radical, was not extreme, that is, the anchorite was dedicated in her solitude to the fundamentals of the Christian life, but was not divorced from the community.[75] She led a life concentrated in the contemplation of the divine, but she was not advised to undertake extraordinary penances nor to seek peculiar experiences.[76] The Benedictine ideal of habitual recollection[77] was urged on the anchorite, and he or she was to be always aware of Jesus Christ's presence. The ideal was to seek that "beholding which is not special shewing," which has been called the normal state of the mystic, the constant awareness of union.[78] This domesticity must not, however, be confused with a sort of coziness. The life which the anchoress led was, if not harsh, strict. More significantly, the anchoress' life was devoted to the transcendent Reality. It is, as Dame Julian knows, the highest courtesy for a great Lord to be homely to His servant.[79]

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[72] Ibid., p. 19.

[73] This is certainly not to deny that marital love is homely, but in the mystical use of this metaphor homeliness is not the attribute generally emphasized.

[74] Thornton, p. 50.

[75] The Benedictine Rule did not discourage special friendships, but made use of natural friendship. In the English tradition, the anchorite depended a great deal on her personal relationship to a director. The seeking of

> For our courteous Lord willeth that we should be as homely with Him as heart may think or soul may desire. But (let us) beware that we

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personal counsel from the anchoress was also encouraged, and may have taken place in any given case on a fairly regular basis. The anchorite was, however, a solitary who was expected to put earthly loves behind her.

[76] Clay, pp. 108, 120-23, where particular reference is made to The Ancren Riwle and to Richard Rolle.

[77] Thornton, p. 76, says that the great Benedictine achievement in spirituality was the integration of the common Office, private devotion and the Mass. Thornton subsumes habitual recollection under the heading of private devotion, but perhaps we can say that habitual recollection was the thread which drew together the three elements of the Benedictine spiritual life.

[78] Supra, pp. 114-15.

[79] Revelations, p. 16.

> take not so recklessly this homeliness as to leave courtesy. For our Lord Himself is sovereign homeliness, and as homely as He is, so courteous He is: for He is very courteous. And the blessed creatures that shall be in heaven with Him . . ., He will have them like to Himself in all things.[80]

In terms of the particular image of the Divine Maternity, the imagery is indeed tender and intimate, but the basis of the imagery is the terrible and gripping paradox of Jesus' joyful death.

The element of trust is the basic reason why the Lady Julian describes her experience of the Divine under the rubric of maternity. The response which the Divine Mother demands is "that we use the property of a child." What this means, as the Lady Julian makes clear, is that we abandon self-will and self-reliance to rely utterly on the Divine Mother's care for us. The marital image is, even allowing for the medieval conception of bridal docility, the image of love between two adults. The bride must strive always to be worthy of the bridegroom[81] The child, on the other hand, is urged simply to rely on the mother, to trust her. This emphasis on reliance and trust differentiates the maternal from the marital image and also from the symbol of the father. The father is the figure of authority, he must be satisfied, his approval must be won. The mother is the figure of acceptance, whose love is given without question or condition.

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[80] _Ibid_., p. 189.

[81] See, for example, _The Ancren Riwle_, pp. 39-40, and Aelred of Rievaulx, pp. 24-26.

> Fair and sweet is our Heavenly Mother in the sight of our souls; precious and lovely are the Gracious Children in the sight of our Heavenly Mother, with mildness and meekness, and all the fair virtues that belong to children in Nature. For of nature the Child despaireth not of the Mother's love, of nature the Child presumeth not of itself, of nature the Child loveth the Mother and each of the other (children). These are the fair virtues, with all other that be like, wherewith our Heavenly Mother is served and pleased.[82]

Dame Julian experiences God as Love, but more specifically as the Love Who never changes in His Love, Who is not strange to His beloved, but Who condescends to the homely love, the homeliest of all love, of a mother for a child. This is truly the "courteous Mother."[83] Trust in God's motherly love is the justification for the Lady Julian's utter reliance on Him, and this reliance is the basis for her optimism. The most famous expression of this optimism, indeed the saying which to many epitomizes Dame Julian's teaching, occurs in the thirteenth revelation: "All shall be well, and all shall be well, and all manner of thing shall be well," the Lord tells her.[84] There is certainly sin, but "our heavenly Mother, Jesus, may not suffer us that are His children to perish."[85] When we see and are horrified by sin, "meekly make we our moan to our dearworthy Mother, and He shall besprinkle us in His precious blood and make our soul full soft and full mild, and heal us full fair by process of time. . . . And this sweet fair working He shall never cease nor stint till all His dearworthy children be born and forthbrought."[86] Here, the theme of the motherhood of working is referred again to the Passion, and Dame Julian immediately goes on to remember the spiritual thirst which Jesus sufferedoon the Cross.[87] The Passion is at once the conquering of evil and the bringing forth of Christians to endless life. The Divine Mother gave life in His death, and He sustains that Life as nurse and guardian. It is not possible, therefore, for the soul to be lost if it is ready to rely on that constant maternal love.

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[82] __Revelations__, pp. 158-59.

[83] __Ibid__., p. 154.

[84] __Ibid__., p. 56.

[85] __Ibid__., p. 154.

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[86] *Ibid.*, p. 158.

[87] *Ibid.*

CHAPTER VI

THE IMAGE OF CHRIST IN THE TRINITY, I:
RECONCILIATION WITH THE TRIUNE GOD

In her first revelation, the Lady Julian tells us:

> Suddenly the Trinity fulfilled my heart most of joy. And so I understood it shall be in heaven without end to all that shall come there. For the Trinity is God: God is the Trinity; the Trinity is our Maker and Keeper, the Trinity is our everlasting love and everlasting joy and bliss, by our Lord Jesus Christ. And this was shewed in the First (Shewing) and in all: for where Jesus appeareth, the blessed Trinity is understood, as to my sight.[1]

This first revelation was the basis for all that Dame Julian was shown in the succeeding visions, the first shewing is the program for the rest, and so we may take this particular statement as a summary of her full understanding of the Trinity. An analysis of this summation in the light of the insights which she expressed later will show us the important place which the doctrine of the Trinity held in her spiritual life, or, rather, will show us that her spiritual life was ordered to the Trinity, that her experience of the Divine was Trinitarian.

Lying on her sickbed, clasping her crucifix, Dame Julian "suddenly saw the red blood trickle down from under the Garland [of thorns] . . . as it were in the time of His Passion,"[2] and then at once was filled with joy by the Trinity.[3] It is significant that Dame Julian's experience of the Trinity followed upon, and followed immediately her vision of the suffering Jesus. That she at once was aware of the inspiration of the Trinity is indicative of the centrality of the Trinitarian experience to her spiritual life, but it is most notable that this Trinitarian experience came about precisely in and through her vision of the Crucified Lord: Dame Julian's piety is Christocentric in the proper sense of seeing the Divinity precisely in seeing Christ the Savior.[4] One of the most important affirmations which Dame Julian makes in her book is this declaration that "where Jesus appeareth, the Blessed Trinity is understood, as to my sight."

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[1] Revelations, p. 8.

This is the characteristically Christian religious experience, and yet it is not unusual to find that in actuality Christian spirituality is not always so constructed. Even among Dame Julian's English contemporaries, we find a spectrum of emphasis. The author of The Cloud of Unknowing, the most Dionysian of the fourteenth century English mystics, wrote in his Book of Privy Counsel: "Our

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[2] Ibid.

[3] We may note that Dame Julian was filled with joy by this vision, and that this is one of the characteristics of "beholding which is special shewing," that is, of infused contemplation. See supra, p. 117.

[4] Supra, p. 131.

Lord is . . . the door . . . whoso entereth not by this door . . . he is not only a night thief, but a day skulker."[5] By this affirmation, the anonymous author of The Cloud and The Book of Privy Counsel means that Jesus Christ is the Way into the Godhead (not just into a heaven of moral reward). However, in this author's view, Jesus Christ is a Way which is eventually left behind insofar as He is human. As is written in The Cloud of Unknowing, meditation on the Passion is recommended and necessary for those who are beginning the spiritual Way.

> But it is still necessary for a man or woman who has practised such meditations for a long time to give them up entirely, and to suppress them under the cloud of oblivion, if they are ever to pierce the cloud of unknowing between them and their God.[6]

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[5] The Cloud of Unknowing and The Book of Privy Counsel, ed. by Phyllis Hodgson (London: Early English Text Society, Original Series 218, rep. 1958), pp. 159-60. The Book of Privy Counsel expands some of the themes of The Cloud. It is quite certain that the same author translated Deonise's Hid Divinity.

[6] The Cloud of Unknowing, p. 28. See The Book of Privy Counsel, pp. 183-85. Colledge, pp. 76-77. If this thesis were a study of English spirituality, it would be interesting to explore the question of whether this English author does not in fact transpose the Dionysian experience of the Absolute into a more Christocentric key.

The attitude assumed here by the English author as to the place of meditation on Christ is common among the German mystics. See Pierre Pourrat, S.S., Christian Spirituality, Vol. II: In The Middle Ages (Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, rep. 1953), pp. 234-36, where special reference is made to Tauler and Suso, as well as to Ruysbroeck. The editor of The Book of the Friends of God comments that for the Rhenish mystics, "The work of following Christ is . . . . pre-eminently an act of the higher intellect and will, rather than of the imagination" (p. 287). Meditation on the Passion is, for them, a means to a higher end, and an elemental means at that (p. 128).

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The works associated with the author of *The Cloud*, and with the "Dionysian school" generally, all emphasize the Absolute, the eternal Godhead. The contemplation of the Divine does not, in this context, occur precisely in the contemplation of Jesus Christ, of the Second person of the Trinity Incarnate.

The immediate experience of the Absolute was not, however, the most common, nor the most characteristic, form of religious experience in fourteenth century England. More usual was a preoccupation with the earthly life of Jesus Christ. In the development of that personal and individual English religious atmosphere which found expression in vernacular works of spirituality, Richard Rolle, the hermit of Hampole who died in 1349, was a seminal figure,[7] and he at once reflected and shaped that popular orientation. Rolle wrote extensively in Latin and English, in prose and poetry, many of his most important treatises being instructions in spiritual formation, which seem to have been widely used by medieval recluses.[8] He wrote, besides, a meditation on the Holy Name and two meditations on the Passion, the longer of which Professor Knowles calls the "finest expression of that theme in English."[9]

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[7] Richard Rolle was born about 1300, probably in the North Riding of Yorkshire. After spending some time at Oxford, where he evidently was influenced by the Franciscans, he left the University to become a hermit. He died at Hampole near Doncaster, where, although not a priest, he had been the spiritual director of a community of nuns and particularly of the anchoress Margaret of Kirkeby (F.M.M. Comper, *The Life of Richard Rolle together with an Edition of His English Lyrics* [London, 1929], esp. pp. 3-5, 21-32, 46-49, 62-67, 163-69, 173, 179-84, 186-87, 195. Hope Emily Allen, *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole, and Materials for His Biography* [New York, 1927], esp. pp. 430-519).

In direct contrast to the author of The Cloud, Richard Rolle considers meditation on the Passion essential to Christian religion, indeed almost identical with the Christian religious experience. Above all, the Christian is bound to love Jesus, and the supreme motive for that love is that He suffered and died for us. The best religious exercise is meditation on those events, and that meditation has a moral effect:

> I wish you often to think upon the Passion, for that will kindle your heart to despise all the good things of this world and its joys, and to desire ardently to live with angels and saints in the light of heaven.[10]

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[8] The Form of Perfect Living (Carl Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole and His Followers [2 vols.; London: S. Sonnenschein, 1895-1896], I, 3-49), is especially mentioned by Clay, p. 98. Allen has compiled a guide to the writings ascribed to Rolle, evaluating their authenticity. The most important treatises of instruction besides The Form of Perfect Living are the Melos Amoris, the Incendium Amoris, and the Emendatio Vitae, written in Latin but early translated. The Ego Dormio, like The Form of Perfect Living, is written as an epistle.

[9] Knowles, English Mystical Tradition, p. 64. See Allen, pp. 278-86. Horstmann attributes another Passion meditation, which includes a description of "Three Arrows of Doomsday," to Rolle, but Miss Allen, p. 286, demonstrates the dubiousness of this attribution.

[10] Ego Dormio, translated and quoted by Colledge, p. 148.

Rolle's longer *Meditation on the Passion* was perhaps the finest and certainly one of the most widely circulated developments of the theme in English literature, but in it Rolle is only developing the treatment of, for example, *The Andren Riwle*, with its emphasis on the moral benefit to be derived from meditation on the Passion.[11] This type of emphasis on the Passion is a natural fruit and a fertilization of that form of religious experience which is primarily personal rather than transcendent. If the "Absolute experience" risks becoming non-Christian, losing Christ in the Godhead, the personal or immanent experience[12] can too easily become non-religious, earthbound, a system of ethics. It may be said fairly that Rolle succumbed to the earthward pull.[13] For all his fervor, Rolle does not see beyond Jesus Christ to contemplate the Trinity.[14]

In both The Cloud and Richard Rolle, there is a danger of over-emphasizing one aspect of the Christian mystery, on the one hand, the transcendental, on the other, the immanent. Neither approach is properly Christocentric. But there is a contemporary of the author of The Cloud who may be said to represent this Christian approach, to synthesize devotion to the Incarnate Son with contemplation of the Divine. Walter Hilton was an Augustinian canon who died in 1396. His most important work is The Scale of Perfection, which was written as a guide for anchoresses, but he also translated into English the Stimulis Amoris of James of Milan.[15] Hilton seems to have known the work of both Rolle and the author of The Cloud, and his teaching on the reforming of the image of God in man is very much like that of Ruysbroeck and Tauler, but there is no direct evidence of his having had contact with any of these writers.[16]

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[11] Knowles, *English Mystical Tradition*, p. 64, points out that Rolle's longer *Meditation on the Passion* develops the "theme found elsewhere, as in the Ancren Riwle. . . ." See, for example, *The Ancren Riwle*, pp. 6-8, on morning prayers, pp. 19-20, on evening prayers, pp. 46-51, on mortification of the senses after the example of Christ's mortification during His Passion.

[12] On the distinction of the absolute, transcendent experience from the personal, immanent experience, see Underhill, *Mysticism*, pp. 99-102, 342-44.

[13] See Knowles, *English Mystical Tradition*, pp. 53-54, for example.

[14] Margery Kempe is famous or notorious for her highly emotional meditation on the Passion, but, at last, she says, she was given understanding of the Godhead, to which she was then drawn with an even more fervent love and desire than had attracted her to Christ (pp. 208-209).

In Book I of The Scale of Perfection, Hilton outlines the stages of meditation by which the soul attains to union with the Divine. The first necessity is self-examination, which is inspired by knowledge of the Redemption. The Christian then proceeds to meditation on the Passion in a "bodily likeness," and, next, to meditation on the revelation of the Divine in the Sacred Humanity. Finally, he attains the contemplative union with Christ.[17] Knowledge of the Passion is the motive for reformation, but the Passion is also that which in fact reforms man to the image of God.[18] In chapter thirty-five of the first Book, Hilton sums up the attitude which makes meditation on the Passion the sine qua non of medieval religious life, but he shows that it is a means to union with the Incarnate Son, not an end in itself. At a certain stage in the spiritual life, the Holy Ghost may give one a meditation on the Passion.[19] The imagination of Jesus Christ's sufferings stirs the soul to compassion and to love and gladness and trust. And this God-given sight of the Passion and response to it:

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[15] Knowles, English Mystical Tradition, pp. 101-102. Colledge, pp. 66-67, points out examples of Hilton's having modified the Stimulis Amoris toward a more Christocentric approach. Clay, p. 99, mentions The Scale of Perfection as one of the most important guides used by medieval recluses.

[16] Colledge, p. 72.

> is an opening of the ghostly eye into Christ's manhood. And it may be called the fleshly love of God, as St. Bernard calleth it, in as mickle as it is set in the fleshly kind of Christ. And it is right good, and a great help in destroying of great sins, and a good way for to come to virtues. And so after to contemplation of the Godhead. For a man shall not come to ghostly delight in contemplation of Christ's Godhead, but he come first in imagination by bitterness and by compassion and by steadfast thinking of his manhood.[20]

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[17] For an analysis of Hilton's doctrine, see Thornton, pp. 191-92.

[18] Dame Julian, it will be remembered, emphasized the truth that by His Passion, Jesus had accomplished our salvation, supra, pp. 155-57, 175.

[19] This meditation is not necessarily a vision, of course, nor a "special shewing."

[20] Hilton, p. 80. This is the teaching of St.

In Book II, Hilton tells us that the "ghostly beholding of the Godhead in Ihesu man" surpasses beholding of the manhood as dead or as glorified.[21] Furthermore, while His offering of His Manhood to His Father was for our ransom and so for love of us, "the most token of love showed to us . . . is this, that He giveth Himself in His Godhead to our souls."[22] Having attained the beholding of the Godhead in Jesus, the soul "beginneth to perceive a little of the privities of the Blessed Trinity."[23] This is certainly the truly Christocentric experience of the Divine, which is proper to Christianity, a fine expression of belief that the Passion is a stimulis to love and desire God, and more than that, the very way to "ghostly delight in contemplation of Christ's godhead," and thence to some apprehension of the Trinity. This is the attitude which Dame Julian takes when she says that she knew the presence of the Trinity in seeing the bodily sight of the suffering Jesus, that she saw the Trinity in the Passion.

Dame Julian's appreciation of the role of the Passion in leading to the contemplation of the divine is explicitly stated in her book. Expecting to die, she had turned her eyes to heaven, fixing her trust in God's mercy, when her curate set the crucifix before her eyes.[24] In

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Bernard, in the Sermons _In Cantico Canticorum_, VI and XX, for example.

[21] Hilton, p. 360.

[22] _Ibid_., p. 383.

[23] _Ibid_., p. 461.

[24] _Revelations_, p. 6.

the eighth revelation, she thought of looking away from the Cross, "up to Heaven to His Father,"[25] but she put away the thought:

> *Nay*; *I may not*: *for Thou art my Heaven*. . . . For I would liever have been in that pain till Doomsday that to come to Heaven otherwise than by Him.[26]

In the ninth revelation, Dame Julian saw "three heavens," that is, the Three Persons of the Trinity, and she saw these three heavens "all in the blessed manhood of Christ."[27]

> Christ is our Way, us surely leading in His laws, and Christ in His body mightily beareth us up into heaven.[28]

The key to the difference between Richard Rolle's meditation on the Passion and the attitude of Walter Hilton and the Lady Julian is the experience of the divinity of Jesus Christ. St. Bernard had insisted that neither the carnal love which inspires devotion to the humanity of Jesus, nor the rational love which adheres to Jesus' teaching can bring about mystical union: only the spiritual love which is directed to the divinity of the Incarnate Son can result in a mystical union with Him.[29] Mystical union must be between the soul and the divine. Meditation on the Humanity can only prepare for and lead to the union of the soul with the divinity. The tension between the divine and human in the Incarnation is the great mystery of

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[25] *Ibid*., p. 42.

[26] *Ibid*.

[27] *Ibid*., p. 47.

[28] *Ibid*., p. 132.

[29] *In Cantic*. *Canticorum*, XXXI.

Christianity. We have seen something of the peculiar quality which this tension assumed in the later Middle Ages in terms of the Passion theme.[30] The practical divorce of the Jesus who lived and died on earth from the Lord who reigns in heaven now had the effect of weakening the understanding of Jesus Christ as the Way to the Godhead. Very often on the practical level the connection between Jesus Christ and the Triune God, while certainly known and affirmed, was not put into effect. The mediatory significance of the Life and Passion of Jesus was not felt, the triumph of the God-Man was not appreciated. Thus, for example, Rolle's Meditation on the Passion closes with the burial of the dead Christ, the last drop of compassion having been extracted, the desired response of compunction and moral resolve having been elicited.

Dame Julian, however, as we have seen, not only acknowledges but emphasizes the note of triumph. Jesus in His Passion has conquered the Fiend,[31] His suffering is over, and He has accomplished our salvation.[32] The joy which characterizes her meditation on the Passion is a reflection of the joy which Jesus has in saving man.

> And right in the same time that methought, by the seeming, the life might no longer last and the Shewing of the end behoved needs to be,--suddenly (I beholding in the same Cross), He changed (the

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[30] Supra, pp. 132-36.

[31] Revelations, pp. 31-32, 169.

[32] Ibid., p. 51.

> look of His blessed Countenance). The changing of His blessed Countenance changed mine, and I was as glad and merry as possible. Then brought our Lord merrily to my mind: *Where now is any point of the pain, or of thy grief?*[33]

The pain of the Redemption lasted only while Jesus was on earth.

> And all that He hath done for us, and doeth, and ever shall, was never cost nor charge to Him, nor might be, but only that which He did in our manhood, beginning at the sweet Incarnation and lasting to the Blessed Uprise on Easter-morrow: so long dured the cost and the charge about our redemption in deed: of (the) which deed He enjoyeth endlessly. . . .[34]

In the allegory of the Servant, Dame Julian understood that the Servant, who is Jesus, stood on the Lord's left side until He had done His work.[35] After Jesus' death,

> the body was in the grave till Easter-morrow, and from that time He lay nevermore. . . . Now sitteth not the Son on earth in wilderness, but He sitteth in His noblest Seat, which He made in Heaven most to His pleasing. . . . Now standeth not the Son afore the Father on the left side, as a labourer, but He sitteth on His Father's right hand. (But it is not meant that the Son sitteth on the right hand, side by side, as one man sitteth by another in this life,--for there is no such sitting, as to my sight, in the Trinity,--but He sitteth on His Father's right hand,--that is to say: in the highest nobleness of the Father's joys).[36]

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[33] *Ibid.*, p. 45.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 50.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 119.

[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 120-21. The presentation of the Trinity as three seated men, the Father in the middle, with the Son to His right and the Holy Ghost to His left, is one of the classic motifs of religious iconography (M. Didron, *Christian Iconography: The History of Christian Art in the Middle Ages*, trans. by E. J. Millington [2 vols.; London: Henry G. Bohn, 1851], I, 278-88). This type was less common as a representation of the Trinity than the

The theme of the ninth revelation is the joy which Jesus has in His Redemptive Passion because of His love for man, a joy which is not only His but the Trinity's. In the tenth revelation,

> with a glad cheer our Lord looked unto His Side and beheld, rejoicing. With His sweet looking He led forth the undertaking of His creature by the same wound into His Side within. And then He shewed a fair, delectable place, and large enough for all mankind that shall be

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type of the seated Father supporting the Crucifix, with the Holy Ghost shown as a dove, but the type of the seated Persons does appear, especially in later (fifteenth century) portrayals of the Coronation of Mary (Philip Nelson, "English Alabasters of the Embattled Type," *Archaeological Journal*, Second Series XXV [1918], 322; Wm. Leo Hildburgh, "Further Notes on English Alabaster Carvings," *The Antiquaries Journal*, X [1930], 38, Plate VII, fig. 7). An alabaster panel from the Hildburgh collection, now at the Victoria and Albert Museum, A157-1946, shows the Three Persons as seated men. A fourteenth century roof boss from the cloisters of Worcester cathedral uses the type of the Three Persons crowning the Blessed Virgin. A boss at Norwich showing the same treatment of the theme is late fifteenth century (Cave, p. 24, Plate 288, Plate 165). Anderson (p. 133) suggests that, although this type was known in the tenth century, drama may have popularized this treatment of the Coronation of the Blessed Virgin in the fifteenth century, since the Three Persons appeared played by three actors (*e.g.*, *Ludus Coventriae*). I have not found an example of this type of the Trinity in needlework, but a thirteenth century cope shows the common modification of the Father and Son as seated men with the Holy Ghost as a dove (A. H. Christie, "A Reconstructed Embroidered Cope at Agnani," *Burlington Magazine*, LXVIII [1925-1926], 71 and Plate II). This modification appears on three alabaster panels in the Victoria and Albert, A6-1921, A168-1946, A35-1946. An echo of the type of the three seated men is heard, for example, in "The Matins of the Cross" of the first half of the fourteenth century (*Religious Lyrics*, No. 30, p. 42):

"Make our bodies fair and chaste,
For to receive the Holy Ghost,
    With heart good and clean;
That we may clean all come to Thee,
There Thou sittest in Trinity,
    And joy is ever seen."

> saved to rest in peace and in love.[37] . . . And with this sweet enjoying, He shewed unto mine understanding, in part, the blessed Godhead.[38]

This is the ultimate significance of the Wound in the Side: it is the entry into the Divine. Here indeed is a perception of Jesus as the door into the Godhead! St. Bonaventure had written: "[Go] to the most humble heart of the most high Savior through the door of His Side opened by the lance."[39] The theme of the Sacred Heart of Jesus had been related to the idea of entry into the Trinity by St. Gertrude the Great (d. 1311), who called the Sacred Heart "the organ of the adorable Trinity."[40]

It was in the twelfth revelation that Dame Julian experienced the most direct affirmation of Jesus' divinity.

> Our Lord shewed Himself more glorified, as to my sight, than I saw Him before. . . . [He] said: I it am, I it am: I it am that is highest, I it am that thou lovest, I it am that thou enjoyest, I it am that thou servest, I it am that thou longest for, I it am that thou desirest, I it am that thou meanest, I it am that is all. I it am that Holy Church preacheth and teacheth thee, I it am that shewed me here to thee.[41]

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[37] Revelations, p. 51, note 2, refers to the allegory of the Servant, p. 112: the Lord's eyes show that His regard (ms.: an heyward, see Miss Warrack's note 1, p. 112) is "long and broad, all full of endless heavens"; p. 113: "The Lord hath, beclosed in Him, all Heavens, and all Joy and Bliss." See also p.121, note.

[38] Ibid., pp. 51-52.

[39] Vitis mystica, cap. xiv, in S. Bonaventura Opera Omnia (II vols.; Quaracchi, 1882-1902), VIII, 170.

[40] Quoted by Pourrat, p. 87.

[41] Revelations, pp. 54-55.

The words of the Lord surpassed all Dame Julian's understanding, and so she could not repeat them as she heard them, "but the joy that I saw in the Shewing of them passeth all that heart may wish for and soul may desire."[42] Later, in explicating this vision, Dame Julian uses the words, "I it am, the Trinity, I it am, the Unity,"[43] to express what was revealed to her in the twelfth revelation.

The Lady Julian was shewed Jesus Christ in His Passion, but she saw Him not only as the Suffering Man, but as the joyful Lord. She experienced Him as divine, and it is this which gives her vision of the Passion that theological significance which sets it apart from much of the popular devotional literature of the time,[44] in which the emotional content of the Passion is exploited for moral purposes, but in which the ultimate meaning of the Passion as the reconciliation of man with God is blurred. For Dame Julian, the Passion is completed in the return of the Son to the Father, when sorrow turns to joy. Therefore, she could say with Walter Hilton, echoing St. Bernard, that man comes to "ghostly delight in contemplation of Christ's Godhead," and so to the Trinity, by meditation of Christ's Manhood.

The Passion fully understood is a revelation of the divinity. We saw that in the early and high Middle Ages, Jesus' divinity was indicated in the very portrayal of the Crucifixion where He appeared on the Cross as *Christus Victor*.[45] Dame Julian's vision of the Passion is not of this type, as we pointed out in discussing the eighth revelation.[46] The Passion is not a revelation of divinity because we "see through" the suffering and perceive the divinity, indeed, it is only after the suffering is strongly impressed on Dame Julian that she is shown the joy. The Passion is a revelation of divinity because Dame Julian understands, is shown that "All the Trinity wrought in the Passion of Christ, . . . but only the Maiden's Son suffered."[47] As she was told in the first revelation, salvation is the work of the Trinity: "the Trinity is our Maker and Keeper, the Trinity is our everlasting love and everlasting joy and bliss."

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[42] Ibid., p. 55.

[43] Ibid., p. 147.

[44] Jesus' divinity is often touched on as simply adding to His ability to suffer, an idea which Dame Julian expresses, ibid., pp. 43-44.

As always in Dame Julian's experience of the Divine, "Love was His meaning."[48] The Passion not only reveals Jesus' love for man, it reveals, more properly, God's love. On the popular level, that is to say, among those who were not theologians, this aspect of the Passion was often neglected. On the other hand, the attempt to present this idea occasionally prompted a confused expression, such as that of William Langland:

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[45] *Supra*, pp. 136-40.

[46] *Supra*, pp. 150-52.

[47] *Revelations*, p. 50.

[48] *Ibid*., p. 202.

> [Repentance prayed to God]:
> "Swathed in our nature, you died with your Son
> at mid-day on Good Friday, for mankind's sake.
> Neither you nor your Son felt sorrow in dying,
> save humanity's sorrow--and your Son overcame it."[49]

A similarly confused attempt to associate the Holy Ghost with the Passion occurs in one version of "The Hours of the Cross":

> At the high noon, Lord, Thou took Thy leave,
> And into Thy Father's hand the Holy Ghost Thou gave.[50]

The most popular formulation of the underlying doctrine that God so loved the world that he sent His only begotten Son to die for men is to be found in the so-called "Trial in Paradise" which ended the Prologue of many of the Mystery Plays, setting the scene for the unfolding of the drama of the Redemption. Here Truth and Justice plead against Peace and Mercy before the Son of God, arguing whether Man is to be punished with the Death which he has deserved or admitted to the Life for which he was created. The Judge decides that both sides can be satisfied only if Death be made good, which can be accomplished only if One dies over Whom Death has no rights, and if this is done for the love of man. It was St. Bernard who first portrayed this drama, which was also described by Ludolph of Saxony, as well as being included in the Mystery Plays.[51] It was also St. Bernard who described "the redemption as a drama in the bosom of God,"[52] always emphasizing the love motivation.

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[49] Langland, Passus V, ll. 495-498. Langland's use of the second person pronoun in the next lines continues the confusion. Notice that the tendency is to humanize the Father rather than to develop the importance of Christ's divinity.

[50] _Religious Lyrics,_ No. 55, p. 70.

Dame Julian does not enter into the dramatic conflict at all. She simply tells us:

> By the endless assent of the full accord of all the Trinity, the Mid-Person willeth to be Ground and Head of this fair Kind humanity: . . . in Him [we find] our full Heaven in everlasting joy, but the foreseeing purpose of all the blessed Trinity from without beginning.[53]
>
> Our high Father, God Almighty, . . . He knew and loved us from afore any time: of which knowing, in His marvellous deep charity and the foreseeing counsel of all the blessed Trinity, He willed that the Second Person should become our Mother.[54]

The Father's love for man is the motive for the Incarnation.[55] Dame Julian's understanding of the role of the Trinity in the Redemption, however, goes beyond seeing that the Incarnation was the Father's will. She sees a more directly active role for the Father and the Holy Ghost: "All the Trinity wrought in the Passion of Christ, ministering abundance of virtues and plenty of grace to us by Him."[56] The "ministering" is further described in terms of that most characteristic saying, "All shall be well, and all shall be well, and all manner of thing shall be well,"[57] in the thirteenth revelation:

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[51] Bernard's dialogue will be found in his commentary on Ps. 85. Ludolph describes the trial in De Vita Christi, cap. ii. For a history of the theme, including its use in the Pseudo-Bonaventure's Meditationes de vita Christi, see Pourrat, pp. 40-41.

[52] Pourrat, p. 40; see, for example, St. Bernard, In Adventu, Sermo I.

[53] Revelations, p. 128.

[54] Ibid., p. 148.

[55] This theme is brought out in the parable of the Servant, ibid., p. 115. One of the most popular scenes with fourteenth century artists was the Annunciation (Tristram, p. 21), with the Father in the act of sending His Spirit to "overshadow the Virgin."

> And thus our good Lord answereth to all the questions and doubts that I might make, saying full comfortably: *I may make all thing well, I can make all thing well, I will make all thing well, and I shall make all thing well; and thou shalt see thyself that all manner of thing shall be well*.
>
> In that He saith, *I may*, I understand (it) for the Father; and in that He saith, *I can*, I understand (it) for the Son; and where He saith, *I will*, I understand (it) for the Holy Ghost; and where He saith, *I shall*, I understand (it) for the unity of the blessed Trinity: three Persons and one Truth; and where He saith, *Thou shalt see thyself*, I understand the oneing of all mankind that shall be saved unto the blessed Trinity. And in these five words God willeth that we be enclosed in rest and in peace.[58]

> For like as the blissful Trinity made all things of nought, right so the same blessed Trinity shall make all that is not well.[59]

The Son, by the power of the Father, has made possible man's salvation, which is put into effect by the Holy Ghost. Thus, the Trinity accomplishes the result which It willed. In intention and in effect, man's salvation is the work of the Trinity. If salvation is a work of love for man, it is not just Jesus who loves but the Trinity. Throughout medieval religious thought, the Passion is understood as revealing God's love for man. Dame Julian specifies that that love is Trinitarian because the Passion is the work of the Trinity. Christ is the revelation of the Trinitarian love for man.

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[56] *Revelations*, p. 50. [57] *Ibid*., p. 56.

[58] *Ibid*., p. 62.

[59] *Ibid*., p. 66. See *ibid*., pp. 103-104: "For as verily as we have our being of the endless Might of God and of the endless Wisdom and of the endless Goodness, so verily we have our keeping in the endless Might of God, in the endless Wisdom, and in the endless Goodness."

We have seen that Dame Julian's experience began with a "special shewing," the infused contemplation of the Passion of the Incarnate Second Person, and that in seeing that Passion she knew the Trinity. Her experience of God is, thus, clearly one which begins in Christ, and we have discussed the Christocentrism of her experience. But there is a further implication to be considered: If the humanity of Jesus Christ reveals the Triune Divinity to Dame Julian, how is the content of that revelation further specified? We have mentioned the two possible modes of apprehending the Divine, the "Absolute" and the "Immanent" experiences,[60] now more specifically we can say that there are two different modes according to which Christians apprehend and experience the Trinity.[61] On the one hand, there may be an immediate response to the Divine Unity, the One God, Being. The Three Persons are then understood in terms of their relationships over against the substratum of the

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[60] Underhill, Mysticism, pp. 337-44.

[61] Much of what follows was first suggested to me by Dr. Cousins' discussion of Trinitarian models in the Spring of 1969.

Divine Nature. As Father Pourrat has said, the mystical experience as described by the great medieval German mystics is an experience of union "with the divine essence, with the divine unity, and not immediately with the divine persons."[62] As a consequence of union with the Divine Essence, the soul is united with the Persons of the Trinity.[63] This union with the One is the Dionysian experience of union with the Divine Essence, the experience described in English by the author of The Cloud of Unknowing: "to be knitted and oned in grace and in spirit to the precious Being of God in Himself only as He is, without more."[64] In this case, the experience of the Divine is an experience of Reality--whatever is not God is not Real, to be Real is to participate in the Divine. God, Who is Being, is also the Reality beyond Being.[65] On the other hand, there may be an immediate response to the Three Divine Persons. The "starting point" in this case is the Father's communication of His divinity to the Son Whom He generates and their mutual spiration of the Holy Spirit. The First Person, the Father, not the Divine Nature as such, is the Ground. Moreover, this is an experience of Value rather than of Reality: the Divine is experienced as Good; the question is not God's existence but His Presence. Dame Julian does not speculate on the Divine Essence, nor does she enter into the metaphysics of man's relationship to God. What she does do, however, is describe God's revelation of Himself to her as Love. She experiences the Divine as primarily Trinitarian, a point which could be illustrated endlessly from her book. In summarizing the important first revelation, one of the truths the Lady Julian tells us that she understood is "the blissful Godhead that ever was, is, and ever shall be: Almighty, All-Wisdom, All-Love,"[66] an explicitation of the perception which she had had that "the Trinity fulfilled my heart most of joy. . . . The Trinity is God: God is the Trinity."[67] Most telling in this context, however, is the impact of the whole book: It is "the Father," "our Lord, our Mother," "the Holy Ghost," Who fill the pages. Even when she speaks of the Godhead, it is in terms of the Trinity, because God revealed Himself to her in the loving action of the Trinity: the Trinity is our Maker and Keeper.

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[62] Pourrat, p. 244. Pourrat includes Ruysbroeck among the Germans. Miss Underhill singles him out as synthesizing the immanent and the transcendent types of experience (Mysticism, p. 345).

[63] Pourrat, p. 244.

[64] The Book of Privy Counsel, p. 139.

[65] Meister Eckhart's difficulties with the Godhead beyond God Who is Being come to mind. These models of experiencing the Trinity are not hard and fast categories, nor always mutually exclusive. St. Catherine of Siena, for example, was rapt in love of her Bridegroom, and also experienced God as "He Who is" and herself as "she who is not." See Etienne Gilson, The Spirit of Medieval Philosophy

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("The Gifford Lectures, 1931-1932"; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1940), pp. 42-83 for the philosophical development of the concept of God as Being.

[66] Revelations, p. 18. [67] Ibid., p. 8.

We may say that the Trinitarian model to which Dame Julian's ideas can be reduced is that in which the God is experienced as Good rather than as Reality. But the anchoress is not writing a De Trinitate, and too much can be made of her use of terminology, the technical implications of which she does not pursue. Dame Julian does not enter into the nature of God as He is in Himself. She does not press beyond the experience of the economical Trinity to speculate on the immanent life of the Trinity. She does not reach the depths which are indicated, for example, in Chapter VI of St. Bonaventure's Itinerarium Mentis in Deum, but if we may presume to speak for her when she is silent, then we may say that she would acknowledge that so great is the love of God that it must be expressed even more adequately than in creation and redemption. The adequate expression of this Love is the production of a consubstantial Beloved. And the Love between Love and the Beloved produces a consubstantial Love as witness to their Love.

> Unless there be eternally in the highest good a production which is actual and consubstantial, and an hypostasis as noble as the producer through generation and spiration, so that it would be from the eternal principle eternally coproducing and would be beloved in itself and co-loved, generated, and spirated as are the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, in no way would it be the highest good, for it would not diffuse itself most highly.[68]

Dame Julian's contemporary, the Dominican tertiary St.

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[68] St. Bonaventure, Itinerarium Mentis ad Deum (V, 310).

Catherine of Siena, taught that the soul in mystical union does not directly see the divine essence but apprehends God only through the effect of His Love.[69] We come to the conclusion that Dame Julian would admit Love as the true Name of God, if we consider the seriousness of the revelations for her whole spiritual life, so that the revelation of God as Love must have meant to her that God is Love Himself. He does not just act lovingly toward man, He is Love, and His behavior to man reflects His immanent life:

> Love was His meaning. Who shewed it thee? Love. What shewed He thee? Love. Wherefore shewed it He? For Love. Hold thee therein and thou shalt learn and know more in the same. But thou shalt never know nor learn therein other thing without end.[70]

The Lady Julian is, however, in fact, concerned not with the Trinity in itself, but with the Trinity in relation to and as experienced by man. When she says that God is Nature, Mercy, Grace,[71] or Might, Wisdom, Goodness,[72] she is using the names usually appropriated to the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, but she is describing how the Triune God acts to man, rather than naming the Three Divine Persons. It is the economical Trinity which she is describing, and her first interest here is not the appropriation of those works whereby man is made and saved, but the celebration of the Divine Goodness in making and saving him. Whenever we find that Dame Julian ascribes three properties to the Trinity, we tend to attribute them in order to the Three Persons. Often, this works out just as she intends,[73] but we should not force the issue. Her point is always to emphasize the Divine Triune Goodness.

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[69] See Pourrat, p. 210. The German mystics who generally thought that mystical union was with the essence of God (*ibid*., p. 244) were influenced by the Dominicans. Pourrat points out that St. Catherine is following St. Thomas (*ibid*., p. 210).

[70] *Revelations*, p. 202.

[71] *Ibid*., pp. 136-38, for example.

[72] *Ibid*., pp. 65, 103-104, 128, for example.

> For it is God's will that of all the properties of the blissful Trinity, we shall have most sureness and comfort in Love. . . .[74]

The Lady Julian tells us:

> I had in part, touching, sight and feeling in three properties of God . . .: Life, Love and Light. In life is marvellous homeliness, and in love is gentle courtesy, and in light is endless Naturehood. These properties were in one Goodness.[75]

But we cannot strictly insist that Life is the Father, Love, the Son, and Light, the Holy Spirit, after the pattern of Might, Wisdom, and Goodness, because Dame Julian immediately goes on to say:

> Our faith is a light by nature coming of our endless Day, that is our Father, God. In which light our Mother, Christ, and our good Lord, the Holy Ghost leadeth us in this passing life.[76]

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[73] Ibid., p. 142, for example.

[74] Ibid., p. 180.

[75] Ibid., p. 199.

[76] Ibid., and see Miss Warrack's note. We may mention here that the title Lord is used for the Father (in the parable of the Servant, for example), for the Son (e.g., p. 17), and for the Holy Ghost (e.g., p. 145), as well as for the Trinity (p. 143). The real point of confusion in Dame Julian's appropriation of properties to the Trinity is

The point here is the use of light as a symbol of the Good, ("The light is Charity. . . . Charity unmade is God. . . ."[77]), an especially apt symbol because of its quality of diffusiveness.[78] The Goodness and Love of God is always the theme to which Dame Julian returns.

The Father willed the Incarnation of the Son.[79] Employing the principle that God acts as He is, we may see in this a reflection of the generation of the Son by the Father, according to the model by which the Father is conceived of as the "primary possessor" of the Divine Nature, but Dame Julian is concerned only to affirm that the Father, as it were, started the Redemptive process which culminated in the Resurrection, and that He did this for love of man. The Holy Ghost then brings the Redemption to fruit in our souls in this life:

> And then shall we, with His sweet grace, in our own meek continuant prayer come unto Him now in this life by many privy touchings of sweet

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between the Second and Third Persons: How to attribute salvation to the accomplishment of the Son while simultaneously ascribing it to the Holy Ghost (p. 146). See *supra*, p. 182.

[77] *Revelations*, pp. 200-201.

[78] This was a popular medieval theme. See Frederick Copleston, S.J., *A History of Philosophy*, Vol. II: *Medieval Philosophy* (New York: Doubleday Image Books, 1962), Part I, p. 107 (on the Pseudo-Dionysius), and pp. 259-61, on the English Ecclesiastic Robert Grosseteste (d. 1253). The medieval preoccupation with light centered on the Divine Illumination which enables man to know truth, see Copleston, II, I, pp. 76-82, where the discussion of St. Augustine relates the noetic implications to the concept of God as the Good.

[79] *Revelations*, p. 115.

> spiritual sights and feeling. . . . And this is wrought, and shall be, by the grace of the Holy Ghost.[80]

The Holy Ghost works to bring the soul of the Christian to heaven, which He accomplishes "by . . . the virtue of Christ's Passion."[81] Dame Julian's understanding of the role of the Holy Spirit was awakened in the thirteenth and fourteenth revelations and in her meditation on those revelations. The most important element in her understanding of the role of the Holy Ghost in man's salvation is expressed clearly in her chapter XLVIII, part of the long section of the book in which she expresses her thoughts "Anent Certain Points." We often fail and are in bodily and spiritual travail in this life.

> But our good Lord the Holy Ghost, which is endless life dwelling in our soul, full securely keepeth us; and worketh therein a peace and bringeth it to ease by grace, and accordeth it to God and maketh it buxom.[82]

The virtue of Christ is fulfilled in us by the Holy Ghost, and the Mercy of the Son is completed in the gracious working of the Holy Ghost.[83] Mercy is the property of Motherhood, but grace is the property of Lordship, and the Savior is our Mother, while the Holy Ghost is "our good Lord [in whom] we have our rewarding and our meed-giving."[84] Mercy and grace are two properties:

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[80] Ibid., pp. 91-92. The Holy Ghost stirs us to prayer by contrition (p. 82). It is He Who brings us to confession when need be (p. 79).

[81] Ibid., p. 82.

[82] Ibid., p. 100. For the manuscript "buxom," Miss Warrack writes "pliant." Here is an example of the confusion of the roles of the Holy Ghost and Jesus Christ Who is also described as dwelling in man's soul (pp. 167-68). See infra, Chapter VII.

[83] Ibid., p. 133, see p. 139.

> which have two manners of working in one love. Mercy is a pitiful property which belongeth to the Motherhood in tender love; and grace is a worshipful property which belongeth to the roayl Lordship in the same love. Mercy worketh: keeping, suffering, quickening and healing; and all is tenderness of love. And grace worketh: raising, rewarding, endlessly over-passing that which our longing and our travail deserveth, spreading abroad and shewing the high plentiful largess of God's royal Lordship in His marvellous courtesy; and this of the abundance of love. For grace worketh our dreadful failing into plenteous, endless solace; and grace worketh our shameful falling into high, worshipful rising; and grace worketh our sorrowful dying into holy, blissful life.[85]

Dame Julian is not, as we have had occasion to remark, writing a dogmatic thesis. Thus, she does not systematically analyze the nature nor even the working of the Trinity. She is, rather, communicating her experience. So we find, for example, that the divine lordship is attributed now to the Father, now to the Son, now to the Holy Ghost, now to the Trinity.[86] Her experience was, perhaps, too rich for her vocabulary, but it is equally true that her one and overwhelming desire was to describe the Love in which the Trinity revealed Itself to her.

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[84] Ibid., p. 145. See p. 100, the quotation referred to in note 82, supra. See Chapter VII, supra, on Christ as Lord.

[85] Revelations, p. 102.

[86] Ibid., p. 116. See note 76, supra.

The great theme in which Dame Julian expresses this revelation is the "Glad Giver." In the ninth revelation, Christ told her how much joy He had in His Passion, saying: "It is a joy, a bliss, an endless satisfying to me that ever suffered I Passion for thee. . . ."[87] But "where Jesus appeareth, the Blessed Trinity is understood." Therefore, if she sees that Jesus is glad, Dame Julian understands that the Trinity is glad. Nor need we simply deduce this. The Lady Julian was shewed the joy of the Trinity in this revelation.

> In these three words: It is a joy, a bliss, an endless satisfying to me, were shewed three heavens, as thus: For the joy I understood the pleasure of the Father; and for the bliss, the worship of the Son; and for the endless satisfying the Holy Ghost.[88]
>
> Jesus willeth that we take heed to the bliss that is in the blessed Trinity (because) of our salvation. . . . All the Trinity wrought in the Passion of Christ . . .: whereof all the blessed Trinity endlessly enjoyeth.[89]

Salvation is the work of the Trinity and "endless joy" to the three Persons.

> [Christ] brought to mind the property of a glad giver. A glad giver taketh but little heed of the thing that He giveth, but all his desire and all his intent is to please and solace him to whom He giveth it.[90]

Here Jesus Christ in the Trinity and with the Father and the Holy Ghost is presented as the Glad Giver.

Redemption is man's reconciliation with the Triune

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[87] Revelations, p. 47.

[88] Ibid., p. 49.

[89] Ibid., p. 50.

[90] Ibid.

God.[91] Dame Julian expresses this as the Son bringing man to the Father. The notion of the saved being presented to the Father is common where the Trinitarian model is structured by the basic experience of the Persons rather than of the Divine Nature. The "starting point" here is the Father's possession of the Divine Nature which He communicates immanently to the Son. There is an identification by the Christian with the Son and a sense of participation in His relationship with the Father, so that man's relationship to God is expressed ultimately as a relationship with the Father, brought about by the dynamic action of the Spirit Who makes actual the identification with the Son. That is to say, the Son has made it possible for man to assume a filial attitude before the Father and the Holy Spirit inspires each saved man to in fact assume this position. Such is the model of Dame Julian's experience of salvation, although she does not spell it out in these terms.

In the allegory of the Servant, Dame Julian tells us that the Lord had "within Himself, endless life, and all manner of goodness," except that "there was a treasure in the earth which the Lord loved . . .: It is a food which is delectable and pleasant to the Lord."[92] The Servant was sent to get this food. There is a double movement here: love for man, expressed in the Lord's desire for the missing treasure and in His sending His only servant to get that treasure[93]; love of the Servant for the Lord, which makes the Servant run eagerly, "having no regard to himself nor to nothing that might befall him, hastily he started and ran at the sending of his Lord, to do that thing which was his will and his worship."[94] The Son brings man back to the Father.

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[91] The deepest level of meaning of this reconciliation is the restoration of the image of the triune God in man. This aspect will be analyzed in Chapter VII on the indwelling of the Trinity in man.

[92] Revelations, p. 115. The food is man, a homely

> Christ is our Way, us surely leading in His laws, and Christ in His body mightily beareth us up into heaven. For I saw that, us all having in Him that shall be saved by Him, worshipfully presenteth His Father in heaven with us; which present full thankfully His Father receiveth, and courteously giveth it to His Son, Jesus Christ: which gift and working is joy to the Father, and bliss to the Son, and pleasing to the Holy Ghost.[95]

The image of the Son returning to the Father and presenting Him with the souls He has saved was popular in the Middle Ages. A fourteenth century manuscript of the Speculum Humanae Salvationis shows Christ displaying His wounds to His Father in intercession for mankind. The editor of the facsimile edition of this manuscript identifies the source of this motif as a twelfth century sermon by Arnold of

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simile and not a common one. Compare Dame Julian's use of the more common theme of Jesus' spiritual thirst for man, pp. 62-64.

[93] Dame Julian emphasizes that this was the only Servant, p. 115, for example.

[94] Ibid., p. 114.

[95] Ibid., p. 132.

Bonneval (d. 1156):

> Securus accessum iam habet homo ad Deum, ubi mediatorem causae suae Filium habet ante Patrem. . . . Christus nudato laetere, Patri ostendit latus et vulnere. . . .[96]

The influential *Meditations Vitae et Passionis Jesu Christi*, attributed to Bonaventure, but actually the work of an anonymous author of the Franciscan order, describes the culmination of the drama of redemption as Jesus' triumphant return to the Father. As the celestial court sings the Son's praises, He prostrates Himself before the Father, saying,

> Father, I give thee thanks that thou hast enabled me to overcome all our enemies. I present to thee our friends who were held captive in Hades. I have promised to send the Holy Spirit to my brethren and disciples whom I have left behind on earth. My Father, I pray thee guard them and keep the promise that I have made them.

The Father raises the Son and seats Him at His right hand, promising to grant His request.[97] The great development of this theme of the return of Jesus and His presentation of the "friends who were held captive in Hades" is seen in the description of the harrowing of hell,[98] but the Lady Julian does not go into this aspect of the motif, concentrating rather on the accomplishment of man's reconciliation with the Father. She sounds the note of the Son's intercession with the Father in the name of His Passion in the Fourth Revelation.

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[96] "De Laudibus Beatae Mariae Virginis," Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CLXXXIX, 1725, quoted in *Speculum Humanae Salvationis; Being a Reproduction of an Italian Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century*, ed. by M. R. James, with notes by B. Berenson (Oxford: at the University Press for Private Circulation, 1926), p. 33. The intercession of Mary before her Son is emphasized in parallel to the Son's intercession with the Father. The miniature which shows Christ displaying His wounds to His Father is Plate XXXIX. 1. On the date of the manuscript, see pp. 45, 57.

[97] Quoted in Pourrat, p. 187.

> The precious plenty of His dearworthy blood descended down into Hell and burst her bands and delivered all that were there which belonged to the Court of Heaven. . . . The precious plenty of His dearworthy blood ascended up into Heaven, to the blessed body of our Lord Jesus Christ, and there is in Him, bleeding and praying for us to the Father.[99]

The point which she is making is that the souls of "us all . . . that shall be saled" are presented to the Father by the Son, and that the Trinity rejoices in this gift. Jesus overcame the devil:

> To heaven he went with mykell bliss
> When he had overcome his battle.[100]

His triumph is not only the overcoming of Death and the Devil, it is also the bringing of the desired treasure to the Lord. This is the theme of the Savior in the guise of the pilgrim who set out from heaven to accomplish a work and now returns successful. There is a panel in the Victoria and Albert Museum which graphically illustrates this theme: on the upper half of the panel there is an Annunciation--the beginning of the Pilgrimage--and on the lower half the Father and the Spirit as two men support the Son Who is returning from His earthly Pilgrimage.[101]

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[98] The Middle English Harrowing of Hell . . ., pp. vii, xv, xix-xxi, lxvii-lxviii.

[99] Revelations, p. 30.

[100] Religious Lyrics, No. 48, "The Sweetness of Jesus," p. 64.

The theme of the triumph of the Crucified in the most radical sense, that is, His reunion with His Father and the Holy Spirit, the assumption by the Incarnate Son of His place in heaven was most popularly and most tellingly expressed by those representations of the Trinity as the Father supporting before Himself the Crucifix, while the Holy Spirit issues forth in the form of a dove,[102] a

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[101] The panel is No. A37-1946. See Wm. Leo Hildburgh, "An Alabaster Table of the Annunciation with the Crucifix: A Study in English Iconography," *Archaeologia*, Second Series, XXIV (1925), p. 206, Plate XLVI. Didron, I, 294-303, 443. Didron quotes from the fourteenth century French "Roman des trois pelerinages," the account of Jesus' return to His Father.

[102] Didron, p. 258, traces the rise of this motif to the thirteenth century, and points out (p. 259), that at this time the risen Christ was commonly shown with a Cross, the symbol of peace to the righteous and wrath to the wicked. Thoby gives a twelfth century miniature as the first known example of this type (pp. 99-100, Plate LVIII, no. 133, from the Missel Cambrai, Bibl. Municipale de Cambrai, ms. 234, fol. 2. The Crucifixus is the "dead Christ"). There is an altar from Hildesheim, probably of the late twelfth century, now in the Victoria and Albert, which shows the Trinity in this way. An embroidered English cope of the late thirteenth century, now in Toledo, but exhibited at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1905, so depicts the Trinity (Kendrick, *Catalogue of the Burlington . . . Exhibition*, p. 30. *Idem.*, *English Embroidery* [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, n.d.], p. 36, Plates X, XI). The subject was rare on ivories, but the Victoria and Albert has an English Pax (34-1867), from the second half of the fourteenth century (Longhurst, *Catalogue of the . . . Ivory . . . of the Victoria and Albert*, p. 7, Plate II), and the British Museum has an openwork French or Flemish panel from the end of the century (Dalton, p. 1078, Plate LXX, number 311).

The popularity of the type in fourteenth century

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motif which sums up the Passion, the Resurrection and the mediation between heaven and earth effected by the Crucifix. A slightly different and "peculiarly English"[103] treatment of this motif assimilates it even more closely to the theme of the reconciliation of the souls of the just with the Father, by showing in the Father's bosom small "souls."[104] In this treatment, there is sometimes no figure of the Holy Spirit. The motif, then, is not properly a "Trinity" at all, but rather simply symbolizes the association of the Father with the Crucifixion, that is, His reception of the treasure gained by the Passion of His Son.[105] English alabaster workers occasionally associated the Resurrection with the Annunciation, and one of the most unusual treatments of the theme shows the Annunciation with a large lily between Mary and the angel, the plant extending above

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England was increased by its use on the tester of the Black Prince's tomb at Canterbury, the Black Prince having been especially devoted to the Trinity (Tristram, p. 68).

[103] Wm. Leo Hildburgh, "Further Miscellaneous Notes on Medieval English Alabaster Carvings," Antiquaries Journal, XVII (1937), 188.

[104] This treatment seems to occur only on alabaster tables. See Wm. Leo Hildburgh, "Notes on Some English Alabaster Carvings," Antiquaries Journal, III (1923), 24-36; ibid., V (1925), 61; idem., "Further Notes on English Alabaster Carvings," ibid., X (1930), 43; idem., "Further Miscellaneous Notes on Medieval English Alabaster Carvings," ibid., XVII (1937), 189; idem., "Iconographical Peculiarities in English Medieval Alabaster Carvings," Folk-Lore, XLIV (1933), 50-52.

[105] Hilsburgh, "Iconographical Peculiarities," 54-55. See also Didron, I, 508, and 503, 507.

to form a Crucifix which the Father supports, as on a panel in the Victoria and Albert, A193-1946.[106]

Dame Julian's image of Christ as Savior is a triumphant image, not because His suffering is overlooked, but because the victory accomplished by the suffering is constantly stressed. The ultimate significance of that victory is not just the conquest of the Enemy, but the reconciliation of man with God by the mediation of Jesus Christ Who died and then rose and "in His body mightily beareth us up to heaven." Dame Julian experienced not just the presence of the "maiden's suffering Son," but the Incarnate Second Person of the Trinity. She saw not just the Humanity but the Divinity of Jesus Christ. It was her perception of His Divinity which made her understand that He literally brings man to God. His Resurrection is His return to His place at the Father's right hand. The theme of Dame Julian's contemplation of the Passion is joy, the joy of the Trinity in the accomplishment of the Son. At the Incarnation He set out on the Father's mission, on Easter-morrow He returned and presented the Father with the one treasure which had been desired--man. The Passion is central to Dame Julian's spirituality because it is the overwhelming revelation of God's love--the Triune God's love--for man, a revelation made not just in the suffering of the Son but in the joy of the Three Persons when the Son returns to Heaven with His prize.

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[106] Hildburgh, "An Alabaster Table of the Annunciation . . .," 203-32, 3sp. 203-206.

CHAPTER VII

THE IMAGE OF CHRIST IN THE TRINITY, II: THE DIVINE INDWELLING

Dame Julian was shown that the Trinity works man's redemption because the Three Persons wrought in the Passion of Christ, but she also expresses another level of understanding of man's relationship to the Trinity:

> We know in our Faith, and believe by the teaching and preaching of Holy Church, that the blessed Trinity made Mankind to His image and to His likeness. In the same manner-wise we know that when man fell so deep and so wretchedly by sin, there was none other help to restore man but through Him that made man. And he that made man for love, by the same love He would restore man to the same bliss, and overpassing. . . .[1]

The Trinity created man and all things. On the one hand, this means that to one who perceives the Creator all creation is "a little thing, the quantity of a hazel-nut in the palm of my hand. . . . I marveled how it might last, for methought it might suddenly have fallen to naught for littleness."[2] Of itself, in comparison to the Creator, everything is as nothing.[3] In describing the relation of God to creation, Dame Julian says that in the third revelation, "I saw God in a Point . . . by which sight I saw that He is in all things."[4] At first reading, one is immediately reminded of St. Bonaventure's statement: "For temporal creation is nothing else than central and punctiform with respect to the immensity of the eternal goodness."[5] Later, in her reflection on the revelations, Dame Julian relates the idea of the point to the divine fecundity, describing the "point" as "the blessed point from whence [Nature] came."[6] It has been suggested that her use of this figure of God as the point from whence comes Nature indicates Dame Julian's familiarity with contemporary philosophy with its Neoplatonic usages,[7] but her use of the figure does not seem such as would indicate any specific familiarity with the metaphysical problem of the One and the Many as such.[8] In context, what Dame Julian is saying in using the figure of the point is that Grace was sent to save Nature and bring it again to "the blessed point from whence it came: that is God."[9] The tone of the whole does not demand more than an ordinary grasp of the basic Christian teaching that man comes from God and in grace returns to God. Dame Julian explains what she has in mind when she says:

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[1] Revelations, p. 23. See "The Sweetness of Jesus," a popular lyric from the mid-fourteenth century: "His semblance He set my soul within" (Religious Lyrics, No. 48, p. 62).

[2] Revelations, p. 10.

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[3] *Supra*, pp. 107-108.

[4] *Revelations*, p. 26.

[5] *Itinerarium*, (V, 310).

[6] *Revelations*, p. 157.

[7] Inge, p. 51.

[8] Miss Warrack points out that the definition of a circle in terms of a figure containing a point equidistant from every point on the circumference is Aristotelian, and that in the *Vita Nuova*, Dante describes Love as the center of a circle (p. 25, note 1).

> For the fulness of joy is to behold God in all: for by the same blessed Might, Wisdom and Love, that He made all thing, to the same end our good Lord leadeth it continually, and thereto Himself shall bring it. . . . And . . . this was shewed . . . openly in the third (revelation), where it saith: I saw God in a point.[10]

In comparison to the Creator, creation is nothing, but, on the other hand, "God made it, God loveth it, God keepeth it."[11] The appreciation of creation's value as precisely the expression of the divine power and goodness prompted medieval theologians to seek in nature the traces of the Divine Presence, the *vestigia Dei*. The universe was a theophany: "the whole sensible world is before us as a mirror [which reflects the divine presence]."[12] Or, to quote St. Bonaventure again, "since . . . the world itself is a ladder for ascending to God, we find here certain traces of His hand."[13] The basic Trinitarian reflection which can be isolated in creation is the triune causality of unity, form and order.[14] This basic Augustinian attitude toward creation was taken up and developed by later theologians, among whom one of the most important and influential was St. Bonaventure, who wrote in the *Itinerarium Mentis ad Deum*: "the . . . condition of creatures . . . is a . . . testimony to the divine power, wisdom, and goodness."[15] This is the model to which Dame Julian's attitude to the world can be reduced: the created world is the expression of the divine power, wisdom and goodness, as she says in the third revelation:

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[9] *Revelations*, p. 157.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 71.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[12] *Itinerarium* (V, 298). We may recall that medieval mirrors were usually made of polished metal and did indeed "reflect darkly" (1 Cor. 13, 12).

[13] *Itinerarium* (V, 297).

> *See! I am God: see! I am in all thing: see! I do all thing: see! I never lift mine hands off my works, nor ever shall, without end: see! I lead all thing to the end I ordained it to from without beginning, by the same Might, Wisdom and Love whereby I made it. How should anything be amiss?*[16]

But Dame Julian casts only a passing glance at the importance of material creation as revelation. Her true interest is man, and more specifically man created and saved by divine love.

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[14] St. Augustine, *De Trinitate* VI, 10 (trans. by S. McKenna, C.SS.R. ["The Fathers of the Church," ed. by R. J. Deferrari, *et al.*; Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1963], p. 214).

[15] *Itinerarium* (V, 298).

[16] *Revelations*, p. 28. On the place and development of this model in medieval theology, see J. E. Sullivan, O.P., *The Image of God* (Dubuque, Iowa: Priory Press, 1963), pp. 87-93. Vignaux, p. 22, on John Scotus Erigena and the theophantic universe; pp. 37-38, on St. Anselm and exemplarism as set forth in the *Monologion*.

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It was, as Dame Julian indicates, the common "teaching and preaching of the Holy Church" that man was created in the image and likeness of the triune God. The content of this teaching underlies Dame Julian's whole concept of man's relationship to God, that is, her concept of salvation, and, therefore, her experience of the divine love. She was not a theologian, not a philosopher, not trained in the rigorous technical vocabularies which had been developed in order to analyze the metaphysics of man's relationship to God. She was only describing the concrete functioning of that relationship as she herself experienced it. Nonetheless, in her description she necessarily makes use of ideas formulated by medieval theologians and philosophers. We have already touched on this difference between Dame Julian and the theologians, when we said that she does not dwell on the creation of the material world. We can extend this and say that she does not analyze the act of creation at all. She affirms repeatedly that the three Divine Persons create because they love, she describes creation in terms of the divine Might, Wisdom and Love,[17] but she does not analyze this creation. She does not examine the "triune causality," the triune influence of the Deity in the world in any sort of exhaustive scientific manner. The case is similar when we turn to the most basic concept which we must isolate and examine in the Lady Julian's thought, that is, the idea of man as the image of God.

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[17] Revelations, pp. 65, 103-104, 128, 136-37.

It is to St. Augustine that we must turn first to discover the meaning of the imago Dei. By analogy, the soul resembles the Triune God in its powers of memory, understanding and love.[18] In this trinitarian psychology, the memory is the ground from which emanate the intelligence and the will. All knowledge is ultimately in the memory, which is the "deepest" part of the soul.[19] To the memory belongs the perception or recognition of truth. This analogy between the mind and the Trinity illustrates the nature of the Trinity, but it also expresses the truth that man is the image of the Trinity.[20] On the one hand, that is to say, man's triune powers, existing in the unity of the mind, make man a "little copy" of the Divine Trinity; on the other hand, man is the image of the Trinity in the sense of participating in the Trinity. The object of memory, intellect and will can be the self, and then man is considered in analogy to the Trinity. But when St. Augustine speaks of the object of the trinity of the mind as the memory, understanding and love of God, then he is speaking of man as the image of God:

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[18] St. Augustine, De Trinitate, X. Book IX is an examination of the analogy of the mind, its knowledge of itself and its love of itself, but Augustine rejects this analogy in favor of that of the three powers which inhere in one mind. See Sullivan, pp. 116-48. St. Augustine's basic model of the Divine Trinity is what may be called the substance-relation model, in which the Persons stand over against the Nature, see Book V. The memory, understanding and will similarly stand over against the mind.

[19] De Trinitate, Books X-XI. The Confessions, trans. by E. B. Pusey (New York: Washington Square Press, 1961), Book X.

[20] Sullivan, pp. 145-46.

> This trinity of the mind is not on that account the image of God because the mind remembers itself, understands itself, and loves itself, but because it can also remember, understand, and love Him by whom it was made.[21]

The mind is one, but there is in the one mind a lower and a higher power, the *ratio* or *portio* *inferior*, a power of knowing temporal things, and the *ratio* or *portio* *superior*, a power of knowing eternal things.[22] It is in the higher part of the mind, "in that part alone to which belongs the contemplation of eternal things [that] there is not only a trinity but also an image of God."[23] The memory considered in this light as the *portio* *superior* is the *apex* *mentis*, or the Ground of the soul. It is here that God is present to the soul.[24] The image of the Trinity in man is dynamic. As Father Sullivan says:

> Man *becomes* like God by knowing God; he *becomes* like God by loving Him. Man *is* like God naturally in knowing and loving himself, but he becomes more like God only by knowing and loving God (and self as the image of God).[25]

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[21] *De* *Trinitate* XIV, 12 (p. 432).

[22] *Ibid*., XII, 2, 3, 4.

[23] *Ibid*., XII, 4 (p. 346).

[24] *Ibid*., XII, XV. *Confessions*, Book X.

[25] Sullivan, p. 146.

The idea of man as image is, thus dynamic and functional. There is development. Man is trinitarian in structure, but he becomes the true image of God, and so achieves participation in the divine life. Man is created by God in the image of the Trinity--analogous in his form to the Trinity. Man returns to God by becoming like the Trinity, by making God the object of his triune soul: the image returns, in the Neo-Platonic style, to the exemplar. But Augustine includes as the necessary prerequisite for the return the element of accomplishing the fulfillment of the natural human capacity to be like God. There is no automatic cycle of emanation and return.[26]

St. Anselm uses the same concept of man's relationship to God. In the Monologion, he says:

> If the mind itself alone among all created beings is capable of remembering and conceiving of and loving itself, I do not see why it should be denied that it is the true image of that being which, through its memory and intelligence and love, is united in an ineffable Trinity. Or at any rate, it proves itself to be the more truly the image of that Being by its power of remembering, conceiving of, and loving, that Being. For, the greater and the more like that Being it is, the more truly it is recognized to be its image.[27]

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[26] Thus, the Augustinian use of the participational model of man's relationship to God is distinguished from the Dionysian use of the model, which tends to make man's imaging of God "automatic." The difference may be traced to Dionysius' greater susceptibility to the Neo-Platonic theme of the emanation of the Many from the One. This distinction is a point which could be incorporated in a study of Meister Eckhart, for example.

[27] St. Anselm of Canterbury, Basic Writings: Proslogion, Monologion, Cur Deus Homo, trans. by S. N. Deane (La Salle, Ill.: Open Court Publishing Co., 1962), Monologion, LXVII (p. 132).

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In the *Monologion*, St. Anselm concentrates on the analogy between the Trinity and man--the Trinity is the archetype of the psyche--because he is developing a meditation on the Being of God.[28] The notion of man as the *imago Dei* seems, indeed, to be fundamental to Anselm's whole approach to theology. Because man participates in the Trinity, the Trinity's presence is constitutive of the soul's proper structure. Man experiences this presence in his memory when God not self is the object of memory. This is when he is aware of the Being "than which nothing greater can be conceived." The Fool can deny God because he denies the Presence: when the image is turned back on itself it is foolish.[29] The important task in man's life is "to devote [himself] . . . to the expression through voluntary performance, of this image which is impressed on it through a natural potency."[30] That is, man must devote himself to the realization of the divine presence. The *ratio superior*, as memory, contemplates the presence of the Trinity, knowing the Trinity as the Ground of the soul's own being. So, in describing Jesus Christ, Anselm says, "that man, from the essential nature of His being, will be always full of God; and, therefore, will never want the power, the firmness or the wisdom of God."[31]

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[28] *Monologion*, Preface (p. 33). "The twelfth century saw the *Monologion* as a *De Trinitate*" (Vignaux, p. 37).

[29] Augustine, *De Trinitate* XIV, 12 (p. 432).

[30] Anselm, *Monologion*, LXVIII (pp. 132-33).

In the *Itinerarium Mentis ad Deum*, St. Bonaventure sums up the tradition in which man is considered as the *imago Dei*. In chapter three, Bonaventure treats "Of the Reflection of God in His Image Stamped upon Our Natural Powers":

> Through the operations of the memory, it appears that the soul itself is the image of God and His likeness, so present to itself and having Him present that it receives Him in actuality and is susceptible of receiving Him in potency, and that it can also participate in Him.[32]

In the memory, God is present to man. Knowledge of self leads to knowledge of God not as a model of the self, but in the sense that the soul "rises through itself as through a mirror to the contemplation of the Blessed Trinity."[33] And from the contemplation "in a glass darkly," "we are led into the divine,"[34] as Bonaventure says when he treats "Of the Reflection of God in His Image Reformed by the Gifts of Grace," chapter four of the *Itinerarium* It is not only through ourselves, but within ourselves that we contemplate God. Because man is fallen, he cannot "enter into himself that he may delight in the Lord [within] himself unless Christ be His mediator."[35] The image must be reformed since it has been obscured in man's fall. Nevertheless, the image remains always, and man remains grounded in the Absolute. St. Thomas, whose psychology is different from the Augustinian pattern, says: "The image of God is found in the soul according as the soul turns to God, or possesses a nature that enables it to turn to God."[36]

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[31] *Cur Deus Homo*, XIII (p. 261).

[32] *Itinerarium* (V, 304). In the *Commentary on the Sentences*, Bonaventure explains that God is truly known by creatures, because "God is united to the soul itself by presence." *Commentaria in quatuor libros sententiarum magistri Petri Lombardi*, I d 3, pt 1, a. un. q. 1 (I, 68).

[33] *Itinerarium*, III (V, 305).

[34] *Ibid.*, IV (V, 307).

This understanding of man as the image of God is the background of almost all the fourteenth century mystics, not just of those who belong in the Franciscan tradition. Jan Ruysbroeck, as so often, provides one of the best expressions of this attitude:

> In the most noble part of our soul, where dwell our higher powers, we are established in the state of an eternal and living mirror of God; we carry His eternal image engraved there; and no other image can ever enter.[37]

In a sermon delivered on Trinity Sunday, Tauler says:

> Let us consider how we have been formed to the image of the Blessed Trinity. The divine image

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[35] Ibid. (V, 306).

[36] Summa Theologiae, I, 93, 8. Quoted by Gilson, p. 213. Duns Scotus insists that the image is really impressed on the mind, but agrees that it is fulfilled only when it is focused on its proper object (Opus Oxoniensis, I, 3, ii, 7, cited by Gilson, p. 213).

[37] Ruysbroeck, The Mirrour of Eternal Salvation, VIII, quoted by Pourrat, p. 241. Ruysbroeck links the creation of man as the image of God with the emanation of the Son as the perfect image of the Father. See also Anselm, Monologion, XII, XXIX-XXXIV.

> exists truly within us in a simple and natural manner, although less noble than what it represents. . . . All . . . agree that it properly dwells in the higher powers--the memory, the understanding, the will. It is by means of these . . . that we are capable of receiving the Blessed Trinity and enjoying it. [Xome] place this image in the most intimate and most secret depths of the soul, where the soul possesses God really and essentially; where God . . . is united so firmly to the soul that it would be as impossible to tear Him from it as to separate Him from Himself.[38]

Among the English there is less tendency to speculate on the metaphysical implications of the *imago Dei*. Generally they make use of the concept of the image in the context of the need for moral reform, but the basis on which they rest is the idea of the Triune image:

> Man's soul is a life, made of three powers, recollection, reason and will, made in the image and likeness of the Blessed Trinity, complete, perfect and righteous. [By sin Adam lost] all this honor and his dignity, and you too lost it in him, and you fell away from the Blessed Trinity into a foul, dark, wretched trinity--into oblivion of God, into ignorance or Him and into animal pleasure in yourself.[39]
>
> This dark image [of sin] in your soul and in my soul, too, may be called a great chaos, a great darkness, for it hinders us from coming to . . . Jesus, and it hinders Him, for He will not come to us.[40]

The Scale of Perfection particularly describes how the soul must destroy the image of sin itself and re-form the image of God which it was meant to be, a theme begun in Book I and carried to a fuller development in terms of infused contemplation in Book II.[41] The soul can be reformed in faith, that is, by overcoming sin and adhering to God in the faith of the Church; or the soul can be reformed in feeling, that is, by adhering to God in a new, supernatural knowledge of Him in which He possesses the soul.[42] The purpose of The Scale of Perfection is to instruct the soul in the active, ascetic life--the reformation in faith, and in the contemplative, mystical life--the reformation in feeling.[43]

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[38] Tauler, *Sermon II for Trinity Sunsay*, ii, 81-82, quoted in Pourrat, p. 241, note I.

[39] Hilton, p. 102.

[40] *Ibid*., p. 93.

It is in this milieu that Dame Julian is speaking when she says that it is the "teaching of Holy Church, that the blessed Trinity made Mankind to His image." She does not investigate the metaphysics of this imaging, nor does she discuss the correspondence of man as participatory image to the Son as perfect Image or expressive image.[44] Her description of man's relationship to God is, however, the development of the implications of the common understanding that man is *imago Dei*.

The Lady Julian does not show specific familiarity with any particular analysis of the soul in terms of memory, understanding, and will. She does not discuss man's relationship to God, either as analogue or as image, in terms of the structure of the mind, but she does see the soul as having three properties, in virtue of which "our soul is made-trinity, like the unmade blissful Trinity"[45]:

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[41] Knowles, English Mystical Tradition, p. 105.

[42] Hilton, II, chaps. 5, 29. Knowles, English Mystical Tradition, pp. 105-106. Colledge, pp. 72-73.

[43] Knowles, English Mystical Tradition, p. 105.

[44] The latter is a theme of major importance in St. Anselm and St. Bonaventure.

> Truth seeth God, and Wisdom beholdeth God, and of these two cometh the third: that is, a holy marvellous delight in God; which is Love. . . . And all of God's making: for He is endless sovereign Truth, endless sovereign Wisdom, endless sovereign Love, unmade[46]; and man's soul is a creature in God which hath the same properties _made_, and evermore it doeth that it was made for: it seeth God, it beholdeth God, and it loveth God. Whereof God enjoyeth in the creature; and the creature in God, endlessly marvelling.[47]

There are obvious echoes here of the trinity of memory, intelligence and love, and it is tempting to assume that Dame Julian had this structural or formal trinity in mind,[48] but there really are not sufficient grounds for asserting this, especially in view of our ignorance of her education (and her claims of being unlettered underline the danger) and of her actual contact with the sources which could have instructed her in the metaphysical analysis of the soul. Moreover, Dame Julian shows no interest in what we may call the "natural" image of God. She is speaking specifically of the soul that "doeth that it was made for," because it is a creature of God. In other words, she is speaking of participation in the divine qualities of truth, wisdom, and love as being the end of the soul. Dame Julian names the Trinity in this context as Truth, Wisdom and Love, properties which are appropriated respectively to the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, but without pressing the analysis precisely in the context of the soul's resemblance to God. More usually when she speaks of the soul's creation by the Trinity, she names the First Person as Might, as when she appropriates to the Three Persons the soul's threefold life:

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[45] _Revelations_, p. 133.

[46] "The Almighty Truth of the Trinity is our Father . . .; and the deep Wisdom of the Trinity is our Mother . . .; the high Goodness of the Trinity is our Lord. . . ." (_ibid_., p. 131).

[47] _Ibid_., p. 93.

[48] To say that the trinity of memory, understanding and will is structural or formal is misleading in terms of the strict definition of formal cause. The soul is the form of the human person. But we use the term structure more loosely to indicate those powers or functions by which the form in fact operates.

> For all our life is in three: in the first we have our Being, in the second we have our Increasing, and in the third we have our Fulfilling: the first is Nature, the second is Mercy, and the third is Grace.
>
> For the first, I understood that the high Might of the Trinity is our Father, and the deep Wisdom of the Trinity is our Mother, and the great Love of the Trinity is our Lord: and all this we have in Nature and in the making of our Substance.[49]

Nor can we attach too much meaning to Dame Julian's use of Wisdom as the name of the Second Person: she does not enter into St. Anselm's concept of the Son as the expression of the Father's creative activity, the creative Word. Her

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[49] *Ibid.*, p. 145.

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more immediate meaning is that the Son has knowledge of the Father's will.[50]

Dame Julian does not approach the theme of God's presence to the soul in this context of participation in the properties of the Trinity, but rather she is emphasizing the benefit conferred on the soul by the action of the Trinity. It is essential to Dame Julian's experience of the soul's relationship to God that the soul which is made by the Trinity is kept by the Trinity. In all the revelations, she beheld that God may not be wroth, because if He were, we should cease to exist:

> For as verily as we have our being of the endless Might of God and of the endless Wisdom and of the endless Goodness, so verily we have our keeping in the endless Might of God, and in the Endless Wisdom, and in the endless Goodness.[51]
>
> For ere He made us He loved us, and when we were made we loved Him. And this is a Love that is made (to our Kindly Substance, by virtue) of the Kindly Substantial Goodness of the Holy Ghost; Mighty, in Reason (by virtue) of the Might of the Father; and Wise, in Mind (by virtue) of the Wisdom of the Son. And thus is Man's Soul made by God and in the same point knit to God.[52]

It is clear here that Dame Julian is not speaking of the soul's participation in the divine Might, Wisdom, and Goodness, but of the benefit (i.e., being made and kept) conferred on the soul by the Divine Might, Wisdom and Goodness, a difference in emphasis which is the consequence of her preoccupation with the spiritual life in the concrete rather than in the abstract.

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[50] Ibid., p. 118.

[51] Ibid., pp. 103-104.

[52] Ibid., p. 128. The parentheses enclose textual emendations made by Miss Warrack.

The soul's inseparable attachment to God is an important element in Dame Julian's thought. We have seen that among medieval writers, following Augustine, the soul was considered as having both a _ratio inferior_ and a _ratio superior_, and it is this distinction which lies behind Dame Julian's psychology. We have had occasion to refer to her description of the Substance of the Soul, its Nature, in contrast to the Sense-soul.[53] This Substance of Nature is that higher part of the soul which is made and kept by the Trinity, while the lower part, the Sense-soul is assumed only by the Son in His Incarnation.

> For we are double by God's making: that is to say Substantial and Sensual. Our Substance is the higher part, which we have in our Father, God Almighty. . . .[54]
>
> And our Substance is (in) our Father, God Almighty, and our Substance is (in) our Mother, God, All-Wisdom; and our Substance is in our Lord the Holy Ghost, God, All-goodness. For our substance is whole in each Person of the Trinity, which is one God. And our Sense-soul is only in the Second Person Christ Jesus.[55]

It almost sounds at times in Dame Julian's writing as though there is a physical separation between man's lower and higher elements: she describes man's Substance as being in heaven, while the Sense-part is on earth.[56] The separation is, however, not intended as a spatial one, but as an expression of the understanding of man's constant presence before God: "our substance is in God, and . . . in our sense-soul God is."[57] Again, Dame Julian is not concerned with structure, but with the relationship of the soul to God. She is not entering into the controversy over the unicity of the soul,[58] but is describing the relationship of the soul to the Trinity.

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[53] _Supra_, pp. 183-84.

[54] _Revelations_, p. 145. "In our Father Almighty we have our keeping and our bliss as anent our natural Substance, which is to us by our making, without beginning" (_ibid_., p. 144).

[55] _Ibid_., p. 146. "And the Second Person of the Trinity is our Mother in Nature, in making of our Substance. . . . And He is our Mother in Mercy, in taking of our Sense-part" (_ibid_., p. 145).

Dame Julian is not engaged in abstract speculation, but is, rather, trying to explain the mystery of Redemption in terms of reconciliation with the Trinity. In the thirteenth revelation, God brought to Dame Julian's mind that she would sin, that, indeed everyone sins, but when this frightened her, "our Lord answered: I keep thee full surely."[59] God loves all that are saved and keeps them.

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[56] *Ibid*., p. 144. [57] *Ibid*., p. 133.

[58] Often where we use Sensual-soul in this paper, Dame Julian would use "sensuality," but the force she gives this term is better communicated by the other.

St. Thomas was the authoritative proponent of the unicity of the substantial form in each substance. See Copleston, II, II, pp. 47-48, 94-95. Scotus' *distinctio formalis a parte rei* is similar to Dame Julian's usage, but there is no reason to say that she knew anything of the metaphysics or psychology of the *Doctor subtilis*. See *ibid*., pp. 231-32, 238-39, 259-60. Among the Franciscans, it was not unusual to hold that the human soul was constituted by three forms, the vegetative, the sensitive, and the intellectual, but, again Dame Julian does not show any concern with this teaching as such. See *ibid*., pp. 174-75. St. Bonaventure and the mainstream of Franciscan thought maintained the unicity of the soul, *ibid*., II, I, 308-309. The Council of Vienna (1311) did not condemn the doctrine of the plurality of forms, *ibid*., II, II, 174-75.

> For in every soul that shall be saved is a Godly Will that never assented to sin, nor ever shall. Right as there is a beastly will in the lower part that may will no good, right so there is a Godly Will in the higher part, which will is so good that it may never will evil, but ever good. And therefore we are that which He loveth and endlessly we do that which Him pleaseth.[60]

This "Godly Will that never assented to sin" is one of the most difficult ideas in the whole of Dame Julian's book. When every possible weight has been given to the fact that Dame Julian is concerned only with those who are to be saved, one must still admit that her mode of expression is at best unhappy, at worst heterodox in the light of the soul's free moral choice. The basic problem for Dame Julian is that her sense of the horror of sin is so lively[61] that she cannot understand how a soul saved by the effective work of the Trinity could fall into sin. Her trust in the Divine Goodness is so great that she is led into extravagant expression in the attempt to describe the security of the saved. Perhaps the happiest expression of that security which she makes is her presentation of the Divine

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[59] Revelations, p. 76. [60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid., p. 185: "The soul that truly taketh the teaching of the Holy Ghost, it hateth more sin for vileness and horribleness than it doth all the pain that is in hell. For the soul that beholdeth the fair nature of our Lord Jesus, it hateth no hell but sin, as to my sight." Or: "Sin is the sharpest scourge that any chosen soul may be smitten with" (p. 79). See p. 83 also.

Maternity. But when she tries to analyze the form by which that security is ultimately structured, she is not so successful as she is in describing the security itself. In part this is no doubt due to her lack of training in the technical disciplines which would have provided her with a clear grasp of rational psychology. When St. Augustine spoke of the *ratio superior*, he was considering that power of the soul by which it is able to contemplate God, that power which made it possible for the Divinity to be present to man. When Dame Julian speaks of the Substance of the soul, she is describing the secure presence of the soul to its Maker.[62] The "Godly Will" is not the *scintilla animae* of Eckhart, nor the *scintilla*, the center or unifying principle of the soul of Henry Suso.[63] It is not Thomas' *scintilla conscientiae*, or *synderesis*.[64] The "Godly Will" is the will in its higher part, the substantial will which is kept in God, fixed in God, because our

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[62] Even among trained theologians, the question of the relationship of the soul to God received some answers in the Middle Ages which were unsatisfactory, to say the least. The most famous example is Meister Eckhart's *scintilla animae*, see Copleston, *A History of Philosophy*, Vol. III: *Late Medieval and Renaissance Philosophy*, Part I: *Ockham to the Speculative Mystics* (New York: Doubleday Image Books, 1963), p. 204. Dame Julian's "Godly Will" is not the essence of the soul, and she does not describe a union of the essence of the soul with the divine essence (*ibid*., p. 204, Pourrat, pp. 243-44). Eckhart's condemnation in 1329 makes it unlikely that Dame Julian knew him at first hand, although she may have known his disciple Suso. We do not know, of course, one way or the other.

[63] On Suso, see Copleston, III, I, 209.

[64] *Ibid*., p. 213.

Substance is kept in the Father. Dame Julian was aware of the danger which could follow on the affirmation that our Substance is in God, and explicitly states that while she saw no difference between God and our Substance "yet mine understanding took that our Substance is in God: that is to say, that God is God, and our Substance is a creature in God."[65] Dame Julian does not run a real danger of pantheism _per se_, since she is always describing a personal union with the divine, but she does endanger the free will of those whose Godly Will is fixed in God. Sin is so terrible, that those who are saved cannot have been ever totally in its power. We see that even saints do sin.[66] There must be, therefore, some part of the saved soul which does not sin. But it is reason which is damaged by the fall,[67] so the element of the soul which does not sin must be the higher part of the will which is fixed on its Good Lord.[68] When the soul is inspired into the body, in the state of creation after Adam's Fall, the Godly Will is then in fact preserved in virtue of the salvific work of Jesus Christ Who has assumed man's lower nature, and so reunites it with the higher Substance.

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[65] _Revelations_, p. 131. [66] _Ibid_., p. 78.

[67] _Ibid_., p. 108.

[68] Free will, then, must be understood as the ability to act according to one's highest capacity, rather than as simply the ability to exercise undetermined choice. See Gilson, pp. 304-23, especially pp. 317-18, for a discussion of the Christian tradition on this question, with special attention to St. Anselm. The basic principle is Augustinian.

> Jesus is our Very Mother in Nature (by virtue) of our first making; and He is our Very Mother in Grace, by taking our nature made . . .: In Him we have this Godly Will whole and safe without end, both in Nature and in Grace, or His own proper Goodness.[69]

Although nothing can obviate all the difficulties which result from this usage of Dame Julian's, it must be emphasized that she is not concerned to analyze the structure and operation of the soul but to describe the *de facto* situation of those who shall be saved. She herself sees a conflict between her vision of the secure keeping of the saved and the Church's teaching that many creatures shall be condemned, between her experience that "all shall be well," and the Church's teaching that not all are saved.[70] She can only say that the revelation was of goodness and all she saw of evil was that those who are condemned "[are] no more [mentioned] . . . afore God and all His Holy."[71] In no way does she deny the teaching of the Church. God wills some things be known now and some hidden until later, and this contents Dame Julian: "And now I yield me to my Mother, Holy Church, as a simple child oweth."[72] Thus does the anchoress give over speculating on the problem of evil.

The Lady Julian's abiding interest is the mystery of Redemption. We have seen that she beheld the reunion of the soul with the Trinity by virtue of the Passion of the Incarnate Second Person.[73] But the salvific reconciliation of the soul with the Trinity is the reconciliation of the soul with its own Substance because that Substance is kept in the Three Persons. We have said that Jesus Christ is the Savior not only because He is the Maiden's Son Who suffered, but because He is the Way to the Trinity. Now we say that in reconciling God and man, He reforms the image of God in man by restoring man in his integrity. This is the deepest meaning of salvation: "in our Mother of Mercy we have our reforming and restoring: in whom our parts are oned and all made perfect Man."[74]

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[69] *Revelations*, p. 148. This is why salvation is necessary (see p. 128).

[70] *Ibid*., p. 66.

[71] *Ibid*., p. 68.

[72] *Ibid*., p. 98. See p. 68, pp. 69-70.

The Passion is not just a moral example to man, nor is it just the bloody satisfaction of divine justice, nor is it just the overcoming of the Fiend. It is atonement, at-one-ment, because Jesus is true God and true man. The beginning of this atonement is the Incarnation, where God and Man are literally at one: "In the Servant is comprehended the Second Person in the Trinity; and in the Servant is comprehended Adam: that is to say, All-Man."[75] Jesus ones us to Himself. Dame Julian expresses this not just as a union of two Natures, the Divine and Human, but as a personalized union between Jesus and men expressed in the compassio.

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[73] Supra, Chapter VI.

[74] Revelations, p. 146.

[75] Ibid., p. 116.

> I saw a great oneing betwixt Christ and us: for when He was in pain, we were in pain.[76]
>
> I understood that we be now, in our Lord's meaning, in His Cross with Him in His pains and His Passion, dying; and we, willingly abiding in the same Cross with His help and His grace unto the last point, suddenly He shall change His Cheer to us, and we shall be with Him in Heaven.[77]

Jesus longs to have all men united to Him, and this is His Spiritual Thirst, the counterpart of the physical torment on the Cross.[78] Jesus ones us to Himself because He assumes our whole nature. The soul is rightly described as our substance and our sense-soul together, "because of the oneing that they have in God,"[79] by virtue of the Incarnation of the Second Person of the Trinity. Our Substance is in each Person of the Trinity, but "our Sense-soul is only in the Second Person Christ Jesus."[80] For this reason, it is the Second Person Who brings the Sense-soul back into touch with the Substance. The oneing of man to the Trinity is the resolution of man's alienation from himself. In the Augustinian tradition, the Fall is defined in terms of the obscuring of the imago Dei, that is, the soul is diverted from its true end. The trinity of the mind is stunted by the failure to make God its object and becomes the foolish image.[81] Because the soul does not know God, its proper object, it does not know itself truly.

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[76] Ibid., p. 40.

[77] Ibid., pp. 45-46.

[78] Ibid., pp. 63, 64, 37.

[79] Ibid., pp. 135-36.

[80] Ibid., p. 146. See pp. 144, 145.

> For our soul is so deep-grounded in God, and so endlessly treasured, that we may not come to the knowing thereof till we have first knowing of God, which is the Maker, to whom it is oned. . . . God is nearer to us than our own Soul; for He is (the) Ground in whom our Soul standeth, and He is the mean that keepeth the Substance and the Sense-nature together. . . .[82]

There is a dual movement here: we know ourselves in God, but then as we know ourselves more clearly, we know God more truly.[83] Knowledge of self can only follow on knowledge of God, because "in our Father Almighty we have our keeping and our bliss as anent our natural substance."[84] The "lower part," our sense-soul, was divided from the Trinity by the Fall. When the Servant fell,

> he was hurt in his might and made full feeble; and he was stunned in his understanding so that he was turned from the beholding of his Lord. But his will was kept whole in God's sight. . . . But himself was letted and blinded from the knowing of this will; and this is to him great sorrow and grievous distress: for neither doth he see clearly his loving Lord, . . . nor

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[81] Augustine, De Trinitate, XIV, 12 (p. 432). Anselm, Proslogion, III (p. 9).

[82] Revelations, p. 135.

[83] Ibid., p. 96, where, according to de Cressy's reading, Dame Julian writes: "But our passing life that we have here in our sense-soul knoweth not what our Self is. (And when we verily and clearly see and know what our Self is) then shall we verily and clearly see and know our Lord God in fulness of joy." The clause in parentheses is de Cressy's extrapolation to supply a fault in the manuscript.

[84] Ibid., p. 144.

> doth he see truly what himself is in the sight of his loving Lord.[85]

The constant explanation which Dame Julian gives for sin is that man is blinded by his Fall. Like the Servant in the ditch, "he was blinded in his reason and stunned in his mind."[86] Only when Jesus Christ assumed our lower part was human nature made whole and restored.

> For in that same time that God knitted Himself to our body in the Virgin's womb, He took our sensual Soul: in which taking He, us all having enclosed in Him, oned it to our Substance, in which oneing He was perfect Man.[87]

The reuniting of the higher and lower "parts of the soul" was completed in the Passion. The Son "fell into the maiden's womb,"[88] died and was raised up, bringing with Him the nature He had assumed.[89] In the first revelation, Dame Julian already understood that "the chief and principal" means by which we are helped to God "is the blessed nature that He took of the Maid."[90] Now we see that there is a deeper meaning to this affirmation. Jesus' human nature is not only the instrument of our salvation because it enabled Him to die for us, but, even more importantly, the assumption of that nature was the recapitulation, the gathering together under one Head,[91] of all those who are to be saved, and therefore, their restoration to integrity. Because the Second Person of the Trinity has re-integrated human nature, that integral nature is brought back to the Trinity. "For the Trinity is comprehended in Christ, in whom our higher part is grounded and rooted; and our lower part the Second Person hath taken."[92] In Chapter VI, we saw Christ presented as the Pilgrim Who returns to the Father with Man, the lost treasure.[93] Now we see a deeper meaning in this figure: Christ is Man, He recapitulates in Himself Mankind. "For Christ having knit in Him each man that shall be saved, is perfect Man."[94] As Adam is All-Man,[95] so Christ is All-Who-Are-Saved.

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[85] Ibid., p. 111. Compare: "In our Substance we are full, and in our Sense-soul we fail. . . ." (p. 138). See also, p. 108.

[86] Ibid., p. 108.

[87] Ibid., p. 139. "The noblest thing that ever He made is mankind: and the fullest Substance and the highest Virtue is the blessed Soul of Christ" (p. 129).

[88] Ibid., p. 119.

[89] Ibid., p. 132. See pp. 119-20.

[90] Ibid., p. 13.

We have indicated that Dame Julian does not use the concept of the Son as the Father's creative Word, the concept of the Exemplar. She may seem, however, to employ an adumbrated form of this idea in showing that Jesus Christ is perfect Man, not just in terms of morality, but in terms of the integrity of His human Nature.[96] In so doing, she implies that the Incarnation was ordained before the Fall:

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[91] Ibid., p. 63.

[92] Ibid., p. 138.

[93] Supra, pp. 238-39.

[94] Revelations, p. 139.

[95] Ibid., p. 116.

[96] Ibid., p. 129.

> When Adam fell, God's Son fell: Because of the rightful oneing which had been made in heaven, God's Son might not (be disparted) from Adam. (For by Adam I understand All-Man).[97]

Not too much weight should be attached to the seeming presentation of the Incarnation as having been intended before the Fall, since Dame Julian generally stresses that it is in order to restore human nature to its original integrity that the Son of God became man. She goes on immediately to say that when Adam fell from life to death,

> God's Son fell with Adam, into the deep of the Maiden's womb . . .; and for this end: to excuse Adam from blame in heaven and in earth.[98]

Dame Julian is not concerned with the Second Person of the Trinity, but with the Second Person of the Trinity Incarnate. He is considered not as the Eternal Word, but concretely as the Savior.

The oneing of man to Christ is the ultimate solution of the problem of evil. Evil has been allowed so that good may arise from it.[99] This is the *felix culpa*: by the Redemption man is raised higher than he was before the Fall. Adam's sin was the greatest harm ever to have been done or to be done, but "the glorious Satisfaction . . . is more pleasing to God and more worshipful, without comparison, than ever was the sin of Adam harmful."[100] Because man's sin has caused him suffering, God rewards him for that suffering.[101] Jesus Christ's assumption of human nature not only restores that nature, but now man is "increased in riches and in nobleness by all the virtues of Christ, and by the grace and working of the Holy Ghost."[102] Now man is not only the image of God, he is like Jesus:

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[97] *Ibid*., p. 116.

[98] *Ibid*.

[99] *Ibid*., p. 147.

[100] *Ibid*., p. 60.

> He would restore man to the same bliss, and overpassing; like as we were like-made to the Trinity in our first making, our Maker would that we should be like Jesus Christ, our Savior, in heaven without end, by the virtue of our again-making.[103]

The union of man to God in Jesus Christ introduces a new dimension into human nature. Man's goal now is to realize his likeness to Jesus: "out of Whom we be all come [by the Trinitarian creation], in Whom we be all enclosed [as the Child in the Mother], into Whom we shall all wend, in Him finding our full Heaven. . . ."[104] Because the Second Person of the Trinity has united human nature to Himself, each saved soul is one with Him, "in which oneing it is made endlessly holy."[105] Dame Julian does not speculate on what would have been the human condition if there had been no Fall, what the relationship between man and the Trinity, in particular the Second Person of the Trinity. She is interested in what is the actual situation: fallen man has been restored by the Incarnate Son. And the motive is love.

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[101] Ibid., p. 109.

[102] Ibid., p. 146.

[103] Ibid., p. 23.

[104] Ibid., p. 128.

[105] Ibid., p. 130, see p. 129, note 1.

> And in this endless Love man's soul is kept whole, . . . in which endless Love we be led and kept of God and never shall be lost.
>
> Because of this great endless love that God hath to all Mankind, He maketh no disparting in love between the blessed Soul of Christ and the least soul that shall be saved.[106]

Dame Julian expresses man's presence to God and God's presence to man in the figure of the dwelling-place.

> Our soul is made to be God's dwelling-place; and the dwelling-place of the soul is God, Which is unmade.[107]

We know ourselves in God because we dwell there, our Substance is Grounded there. We know God in our souls because that is where He dwells. In the allegory of the Servant, Dame Julian saw the Lord sitting in the desert, because man's soul had become unworthy to be the divine dwelling-place. The Servant had to restore the City of man's soul so that the Lord could dwell there.[108] When the Son returns to the Father, Dame Julian not only describes His sitting at the Father's right hand, but tells us that He "sitteth . . . in His City in rest and peace."[109] This

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[106] Ibid., p. 129, 130.

[107] Ibid., p. 130. Margery Kempe in describing her visit to the Lady Julian refers to the teaching of Sacred Scripture that the soul is the seat of God (pp. 42-43).

[108] Revelations, p. 135.

[109] Ibid., p. 121. Meditations on the Life and Passion of Christ, ll. 1638-1656, calls the soul Jesus' dwelling-place and describes how it is to be fitted up, for example, the beams are of cypress, the posts of ivory, the roof painted with stars.

City where Jesus sits is "our Sense-soul, in which He is enclosed," while our Substance is enclosed in Him, at rest in the Godhead.[110] In the sixteenth revelation, Dame Julian was shown that her soul was "a blissful kingdom . . . a worshipful City."[111] The Lord of Creation chooses to dwell in man's soul as "His homeliest home and His endless dwelling."[112] He will never leave this City: "I saw Him sitting: and the quiet secureness of sitting sheweth endless dwelling."[113] This figure of Christ as Lord of the City of the soul stands for His final triumph. We pointed out in the discussion of the Passion that Dame Julian emphasizes the work of Christ, His accomplishment.[114] Here we find a variation on that theme.

> Christ alone did all the works that belong to our salvation . . .; right so He alone doeth now the last end: that is to say, He dwelleth here with us, and ruleth us and governeth us in this living, and bringeth us to His bliss.[115]

The ultimate image of Christ in Dame Julian's book is the Lord ruling His City--the Risen Crucified Who dwells in the Soul, by virtue of which and for which He suffered.

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[110] Revelations, p. 136.

[111] Ibid., p. 167. See the poem "Ihesu that hast me dere I-boght":

"Let this prayer a chain be
To draw thee down off thy seat
That I may make thee a dwelling
In my heart at thy liking." (Religious Lyrics, No. 91, p. 118.)

[112] Revelations, p. 167.

[113] Ibid., p. 196.

[114] Supra, p. 222.

[115] Revelations, p. 194.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

Dame Julian herself sums up the meaning of the revelations which she received.

> And from the time that it was shewed I desired oftentimes to learn[1] what was our Lord's meaning. And fifteen years after, and more, I was answered in ghostly understanding, saying thus: Wouldst thou learn thy Lord's meaning in this thing? Learn it well: Love was His meaning. Who shewed it thee? Love. What shewed He thee? Love. Wherefore shewed it He? For Love. Hold thee therein and thou shalt learn and know more in the same. But thou shalt never know nor learn therein other thing without end. . . .
>
> And I saw full surely that ere God made us He loved us; which love was never slacked nor ever shall be. And in this love He hath done all His works; and in this love he hath made all things profitable to us; and in this love our life is everlasting. In our making we had beginning; but the love wherein He made us was in Him without beginning: in which love we have our beginning and all this shall we see in God, without end.[2]

Thus run the last two paragraphs of the Lady Julian's book, and thus the whole can be summed up in one word, Love: it is the Revelation of Divine Love. The divine love is first manifested in the Passion of Jesus Christ, and from that manifestation, which evokes the beholder's love as response, the way is opened to a vision of the love of the Triune God for man. Love is the method as well as the content of the revelations. The Incarnate Second Person of the Trinity is the first revelation of Divine Love as well as the means to the beholding of the Triune Love.

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[1] Revelations, p. 202, note 2: "witten," that is, "to see clearly."

[2] Ibid., pp. 202-203.

When Dame Julian's book is called the _Revelations of Divine Love_, there is the chance of misinterpreting the word "revelations." It is better, perhaps, to refer, as she herself does, to the _Shewings of Divine Love_. Nothing new was revealed to her, no secrets made known. Rather, the divine love preached by the Church was shown, manifested to her. Dame Julian insists that she saw nothing contrary to the teaching of the Church.

> I had two manner of beholdings. The one was endless continuant love, with secureness of keeping, and blissful salvation,--for of this was all _the Shewing._ The other was of the common teaching of Holy Church, in which I was afore informed and grounded--and with all my will having in use and understanding. And the beholding of _this_ went not from me: for by the Shewing I was not stirred nor led therefrom in no manner of point, but I had therein teaching to love it and find it good: whereby I might, by the help of our Lord and His grace increase and rise to more heavenly knowing and higher loving.[3]

There was one matter in particular where Dame Julian had to affirm the consistency of the common teaching of the Church with the insight which she received in the shewings, although she did not understand the consistency. In the thirteenth revelation Dame Julian was told that "All shall be well," but she could not understand how this could be.

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[3] _Ibid_., p. 97. See _supra_, pp. 104-105, 115-17.

> But in this I stood beholding things general, troublously and mourning, saying thus to our Lord in my meaning, with full great dread: Ah! good Lord, how might all be well, for the great hurt that is come, by sin, to the creature?[4]

Moreover, the common teaching of the Church told Dame Julian that angels and heathen men who die out of the Faith and Christian men who die out of charity are condemned to eternal hell.[5] Was not, in this case, the teaching of the Church contradicted by the special shewings? But she was answered only:

> That which is impossible to thee is not impossible to me: I shall save my word in all things and I shall make all things well. Thus I was taught . . . that I should steadfastly hold me in the Faith as I had aforehand understood, (and) therewith that I should firmly believe that all things shall be well, as our Lord shewed in the same time.[6]

The shewings certainly prompted Dame Julian to a new certainty of the divine goodness, but they did not explain the mystery of the Lord's working to her. She was only told that "All shall be made well," there was no elucidation of "the Great Deed that our Lord shall do, in which Deed He shall save His word and He shall make all well that is not well."[7] At no time was the Lady Julian interested in plumbing the depths of the Divine Nature, in learning the secrets of God. She was concerned to describe only how God enters into relationship with Christian souls. In the thirteenth revelation, she tells us:

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[4] Revelations, p. 60. [5] Ibid., p. 66.

[6] Ibid., p. 67. "For though the Revelation was made of goodness in which was made little mention of evil, yet I was not drawn thereby from any point of the Faith that Holy Church teacheth me to believe" (p. 68).

[7] Ibid., p. 67.

> He gave me understanding of two parts (of truth). The one part is our Savior and our salvation. This blessed part is open and clear and fair and light and plenteous,--for all mankind that is of good will, and shall be is comprehended in this part. . . . In this willeth our Lord that we be occupied. . . . The other (part) is hid and shut up from us: that is to say, all that is beside our salvation.[8]

Dame Julian's method of describing the relationship between God and man is to describe how God showed Himself to her: "And that which I say of me, I say in the person of all mine even-Christians: for I am taught in the Spiritual Shewing of our Lord God that He meaneth so."[9]

This method of describing her personal experience of God gives Dame Julian's book a personal tone, although careful examination shows that she has not written a spiritual autobiography. This is true in two senses. She does not report on her own spiritual progress in detail, nor does she use the sort of introspective approach to God canonised by St. Augustine and, in Dame Julian's own day adopted by the great German mystics. She does not "enter then into herself and see,"[10] to paraphrase St. Bonaventure. Dame Julian does not find her Lord in her own heart. He comes to her from outside herself. She does not examine the structure of her own soul to see the image of her Maker, although she is familiar with the teaching that man is "made Trinity like to the unmade . . . Trinity."[11] She does not resolve the metaphysical implications of this teaching, but rests in understanding that the soul, oned to its Maker, is the dwelling place of the Lord. It is as though she were to say that the soul is made like the Trinity so that Jesus Christ might be at home there as He is in heaven. Dame Julian saw, in the last shewing, Jesus sitting in her soul.

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[8] Ibid., p. 61.

[9] Ibid., p. 19.

[10] Itinerarium, III (V, 303). We may note that introspection was not a characteristic English method in the fourteenth century.

> And therefore the blessed Trinity enjoyeth without end in the making of Man's Soul: for He saw from without beginning what should please Him without end.[12]

The Trinity made the soul to be the dwelling place of Jesus, and "where Jesus appeareth, the blessed Trinity is understood."[13] Always it is the dynamic de facto relationship to the Savior which interests her. In describing this relationship, the Lady Julian uses a framework derived from the common medieval concept of the ratio superior and the ratio inferior as constitutive factors of the soul. She does not enter into a technical analysis of the powers of the soul (and almost certainly could not have entered into such an analysis), but uses this background to understand what she experienced. The content of that experience was the oneing of the soul to God of His Goodness,[14] and she understood this in terms of the philosophical vocabulary available to her, not as a trained philosopher but as an intelligent woman making use of the common coin of the realm of popular theology, as we may call it. The soul is grounded in God because "our substance is in God,"[15] and therefore "in every soul that shall be saved is a Godly Will that never assented to sin, nor ever shall."[16] But when the Substance is joined to the Sense-soul, man may sin,[17] because he is blind: "in [this life man] is in tempest and in sorrow and woe; and the cause is blindness: for he seeth not God."[18] Thus does Dame Julian analyze the matter, but the core insight which she is trying to communicate is simply that God so loves man that He keeps the creature securely.

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[11] Revelations, p. 133.

[12] Ibid., p. 168.

[13] Ibid., p. 8.

> For ere He made us He loved us. . . . And in this endless Love man's Soul is kept whole, as the matter of the Revelations signifieth and sheweth: in which endless Love we be led and

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[14] Ibid., p. 97: "For our soul is so fully oned to God of His own Goodness that between God and our soul may be right nought."

[15] Ibid., p. 133.

[16] Ibid., pp. 76, 127.

[17] Ibid., p. 138. Dame Julian's assumption is that man's Substance is individual. She says nothing explicitly on this point, but there is no reason to see behind any of her statements the concept of one substance common to all the saved. Rather, such a position would make nonsense of her spirituality as a whole, since the foundation of her spiritual life is the personal relationship between the soul and Jesus Christ.

[18] Ibid., p. 99.

> kept of God and never shall be lost. For He willeth we be aware that our Soul is a Life, which life of His Goodness and His Grace shall last in Heaven without end, Him loving, Him thanking, Him praising.[19]

This great Love caused God to one man's soul to Himself in Christ, so that not only man's Substance but His Sense-soul is knit to God by a "knot . . . subtle and . . . mighty."[20] In this knitting, the human soul is made holy, and "all the souls that shall be saved . . . are knit and oned in this oneing and made holy in this holiness."[21] It is Jesus Christ Who is the Way, and "in His Body mightily beareth us up into heaven."[22]

The "oneing" which is Dame Julian's goal is not a return from the Many to the One, but a union between two Persons. Union with the Divine is, however, precisely entry into possession of the Self. ("But our passing life that we have here in our sense-soul knoweth not what our Self is."[23]) The soul is knit to Christ and brought by and in Him to the Trinity. Miss Underhill has said:

> Where the dominant emotion is that of intimate affection, and where the training or disposition of the mystic inclines him to emphasize the personal and Incarnational rather than the abstract and Trinitarian side of Christianity, the

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[19] Ibid., pp. 128-29. "Flee we to our Lord and we shall be comforted, touch we Him and we shall be made clean, cleave we to Him and we shall be secure and safe from all manner of peril" (p. 189). Miss Warrack translates the manuscript "sekir" as "sure" rather than as "secure."

[20] Ibid., p. 129.

[21] Ibid., p. 130.

[22] Ibid., p. 132.

[23] Ibid., p. 96.

> contemplative of this type will always tend to describe his secret to us as above all things an experience of adorable Friendship. Reality is for Him a Person not a State. In the "orison of union" it seems to him that an actual communion, a merging of his self with this other and strictly personal Self takes place.[24]

The soul does not plunge into the One, the Abyss of the Godhead, but finds her Lover. For the Lady Julian, the mode of encountering the Friend is, most characteristically, as Mother. But we must amend Miss Underhill's analysis a little in that, for Dame Julian, the emphasis is personal, Incarnational and *thus precisely* Trinitarian: Jesus Christ first shows Himself to the anchoress, and then brings to her sight the "blessed Trinity."[25] In the tenth revelation, Jesus, the Crucified, looked into His Side and led Dame Julian's understanding there, and then:

> He shewed unto mine understanding, in part, the blessed Godhead, stirring then the poor soul to understand . . . the endless Love that was without beginning, and is, and shall be ever. And with this our good Lord said full blissfully: *Lo, how that I loved thee*, as if He had said: *My darling behold and see thy Lord, thy God that is thy Maker and thine endless joy, see what satisfying and bliss I have in thy salvation: and for my love rejoice (thou) with me.*[26]

Dame Julian experienced the Godhead as the Three Persons Who love man and therefore come and make their abode with him. The soul is not lifted out of itself, but rather God condescends to come to man. He showed Himself to Dame Julian in His homeliness. In the first revelation, she says:

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[24] Underhill, *Mysticism*, p. 343. Miss Underhill mentions Dame Julian here as typical of this mystical outlook.

[25] *Revelations*, p. 8.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 52. Quoted in Underhill, *Mysticism*, p. 343.

> Of all the sight it was most comfort to me that our God and Lord that is so reverend and dreadful, is so homely and courteous: and this most fulfilled me with comfort and assuredness of soul.[27]
>
> For verily it is the most joy that may be . . . that He that is highest and mightiest, noblest and worthiest, is lowest and meekest, homeliest and most courteous: and truly and verily this marvellous joy shall be shewn us all when we see Him. . . . For the most fulness of joy that we shall have, as to my sight, is the marvellous courtesy and homeliness of our Father, that is our Maker, in our Lord Jesus Christ that is our Brother and our Savior.[28]

It is in the twelfth revelation that Dame Julian saw the Lord most glorious: "wherein I was learned that our soul shall never have rest till it cometh to Him, knowing that He is fulness of joy, homely and courteous, blissful and very life."[29] This explicit linking of the clearest revelation of the Divinity with the mode of homeliness in itself indicates that Dame Julian's experience of the Divine is indeed one of intimacy, of friendship, and of familial stability. The great expression of this familial atmosphere of homely love is Dame Julian's description of the Divine Maternity. In the theme of Jesus as our loving Mother, the anchoress sounds the note which is meant to dominate man's relationship to God: trust in the tenderness of the

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[27] Revelations, p. 16. [28] Ibid., p. 17.

[29] Ibid., p. 54.

Divine Love. "And He willeth . . . that we use the property of a child, that evermore of nature trusteth to the love of the mother in weal and in woe."[30] This maternal image of homeliness based on the enclosure of the child in the womb is an expression of Dame Julian's basic understanding that man is enclosed in God because his Substance is made and kept in the Trinity.[31]

The key to Dame Julian's experience of the divine love is her understanding of Jesus Christ. Her whole book is a reflection of the image of Christ Who shewed Himself to her in different modes, but Who is primarily Love, Love manifested in different modes.

> [Our Good Lord] shewed Himself in earth in the sweet Incarnation and in His blessed Passion. And in other manner He shewed Himself in earth (as in the Revelation) where I say: I saw God in a point. And in another manner He shewed Himself in earth thus as it were in pilgrimage: that is to say, He is here with us, leading us, and shall be till when He hath brought us all to His bliss in heaven. He shewed Himself diverse times reigning . . .; but principally in man's soul.[32]

The Lady Julian saw her Lord Incarnate and suffering for her; she saw Him creator and keeper of the world; she saw Him ruler of man's heart. We have discussed her visions of the Passion, we have examined her understanding of creation, more particularly of man's creation, we have seen how she describes the divine indwelling. The theme which unites the different aspects of her book is Love, and the image of Christ which pervades the whole is that of the Triumphant Love--*Christus Victor*, *Christus Regnat*.

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[30] Ibid., p. 154.

[31] Ibid., p. 131.

[32] Ibid., pp. 195-96.

The images of Jesus Christ which we have analyzed in Chapters IV through VII of this dissertation have presented Him as the Suffering Savior, the Tender Mother, the Pilgrim Servant returning to the Trinity, the Reigning Lord of man's soul. In each case, the image somehow manifests, reveals the Divine Love. Now we suggest that these images each represent an aspect of the Lord's triumph in love, culminating in the image of the Lord reigning over the heart of man.

We have seen that Dame Julian's contemplation of the Passion was on the one hand a gripping experience of the suffering of the Maiden's Son and on the other hand a thorough appreciation of the Joy of the Glad Giver, both being facets of the Divine Love.

> It is God's will, as to mine understanding, that we have Three Manners of Beholding His blessed Passion. The First is: *the hard Pain that He suffered*,--(beholding it) with contrition and compassion.[33]
>
> For the Second Beholding in this blessed Passion [I saw] *the love that made Him to suffer passeth as far all His pains as Heaven is above Earth*. For the pains was [sic] a noble, worshipful deed done in a time by the working of love: but Love was without beginning, is and shall be without ending.[34]
>
> For the Third Beholding in His blissful Passion [I saw] . . . *the Joy and the Bliss that*

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[33] *Ibid*., p. 45.

[34] *Ibid*., p. 48.

> *make Him to be well-satisfied in it.*[35]

The motivation for the Passion and the reason for the Joy and Bliss are the Love which the Lord has for man, not only the Love of the Incarnate Son, but the love of Trinity. Man is the one treasure which the Lord did not have and which He sent His Servant to win.

> For I saw in the Lord that He hath within Himself endless life, and all manner of goodness, save that treasure that was in the earth. And that (treasure) was grounded in the Lord in marvellous deepness of endless love, but it was not all to His worship till the Servant had thus nobly prepared it, and brought it before Him in himself present.[36]

The Lord sees that man is in travail, and He comes to conquer man's enemy. This is shown Dame Julian in the first revelation, it is repeated in the succeeding revelations,[37] and in the last revelation, the promise is repeated.

> Right as in the first word that our good Lord shewed, signifying His blissful Passion,--*therewith is the* devil overcome,--right so He said in the last word, with full true secureness, meaning us all: *Thou shalt not be overcome*.[38]

The first meaning of the divine triumph is the victory of the Crucified over the Fiend, the victory by which man is rescued. In virtue of this victory the bond of sin is broken. In the thirteenth revelation, Dame Julian was "informed of all that is needful," and was told: "It behoved that there should be sin; but all shall be well, and all shall be well, and all manner of thing shall be well."[39] Sin, "all that is not good," is "all the pains and passions of all . . . creatures, ghostly and bodily, but the Passion of our Lord is comfort to us against this. . . ."[40] Sin is the worst travail and tempest[41] which the Christian soul suffers, but God has compassion on man,[42] whose trials are ordered to his salvation.

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[35] *Ibid*., p. 49. See p. 174.

[36] *Ibid*., pp. 115-16.

[37] See especially the fifth revelation (*ibid*., pp. 31-32), and the account of the devil's appearance in a dream before and after the sixteenth revelation (*ibid*., pp. 165-66, 170-71).

[38] *Ibid*., p. 169.

> I saw that our Lord joyeth of the tribulations of His servants, with ruth and compassion. On each person that He loveth, to His bliss for to bring (them), He layeth something that is no blame in His sight, whereby they are blamed and despised in this world. . . . And this He doeth for to hinder the harm that they should take from the pomp and the vain-glory of this wretched life, and make their way ready to come to Heaven, and upraise them in His bliss. . . .[43]

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[39] *Ibid.*, p. 56.

[40] *Ibid.*

[41] "He said not: *Thou shalt not be tempested, thou shalt not be travailed, thou shalt not be afflicted*; but he said: *Thou shalt not be overcome*" (*ibid.*, p. 170). Dame Julian saw in the thirteenth revelation that, "God's servants, Holy Church, shall be shaken in sorrow and anguish, tribulation in this world, as men shake a cloth in the wind" (*ibid.*, p. 58).

[42] Dame Julian associates her compassion for her even-Christians with her compassion for Jesus in His Passion (*ibid.*).

[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59. Among Dame Julian's contemporaries, Henry Suso, Margery Kempe and Richard Rolle were all especially vilified by their associates, "blamed and despised in this world, scorned, mocked and outcasted" (pp. 58-59 for the adjectives but not for their particular application).

In her reflection on the allegory of the Servant, Dame Julian understood that the Servant's fall caused the Lord to look on him "with great ruth and pity."[44] The compassion of the Lord for His fallen Servant prompted Him to send His true Servant, His Son, to save the fallen man: when the Servant fell into the ditch, the Son fell into the maiden's womb, so that He might save the Servant.[45] The salvific victory is more than the vanquishing of Satan. The completion of that victory is the return of the Son to the Lord with His treasure. The Lord not only restored the Servant, but rewarded him for "his afright and his dread, his hurt and his maim and all his woe," so that the "dearworthy Servant, which He loved so much, should be verily and blissfully rewarded, above that he should have been if he had not fallen."[46] Only when the Servant has been saved from the ditch can he be brought before the Lord, but when he is brought there finally, he will come there as united with the Son: "The Servant [the second Person of the Trinity and rightful Adam] brought [the treasure] before the Lord in himself. . . ."[47]

Contemplation of the Passion evokes from Dame Julian sorrow and joy:

> We have, now, matter of mourning: for our sin is cause of Christ's pain; and we have lastingly,

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[44] Ibid., p. 109.

[45] Ibid., p. 116.

[46] Ibid., p. 109.

[47] Ibid., p. 116.

> matter of joy: for endless love made Him to suffer.[48]

The mourning which the Middle Ages knew so well how to pour out before the Crucifix is, Dame Julian, sees, for now, but eternally the saved rejoice in the Divine Love. Dame Julian constantly refers the suffering and death of Jesus Christ to His resurrection under the theme of His joy in that suffering. The resurrection is the return of the Incarnate Second Person of the Trinity to the Father and the Holy Ghost.[49] Because the Second Person comes in triumph, the Trinity rejoices, as Dame Julian saw in the first revelation, and even more clearly in the ninth.[50] As always, Dame Julian's concern is to show what this means for man, how he shares in the rejoicing.

> Christ in His body mightily beareth us up into heaven. For I saw that Christ, us all having in Him that shall be saved by Him, worshipfully presenteth His Father in heaven with us. . . .[51]

When He rose from the grave, Jesus' suffering was over, but not His love for those for whom He had entered into that suffering: "For the pains was a noble, worshipful deed done in a time by the working of love; but Love was without beginning, is, and shall be without ending."[52]

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[48] Ibid., p. 124.

[49] Ibid., p. 121.

[50] Ibid., p. 8, pp. 49-50.

[51] Ibid., p. 132.

[52] See also Ibid., p. 50: "And all that He hath done for us, and doeth, and ever shall, was never cost nor charge to Him, nor might be, but only that which He did in our manhood, beginning at the sweet Incarnation and lasting

The love which Jesus Christ has always for man makes Him desire their good.

> This is the Spiritual Thirst of Christ: the love-longing that lasteth, and ever shall, till we see that sight on Doomsday. For we that shall be saved and shall be Christ's joy and His bliss, some be yet here and some be to come, and so shall some be, unto that day. Therefore, this is His thirst and love-longing, to have us altogether whole in Him, to His bliss.[53]

He has compassion on man and longs for Him, and these are two properties of His Goodness, but the longing is in Him because our need evokes His pity, and the longing draws us up from our need to His bliss.[54] In virtue of His love-longing, Jesus Christ is in heaven drawing us to Himself even as He bears us triumphantly in Himself to the Father.

Just as in heaven, Jesus draws us and bears us to the Father, on earth He leads us along the Way,[55] doing all things.[56] And while His doing all things insures that nought shall fail for the accomplishment of His end, our salvation, so weak are we that we need His special care. For that reason, He not only leads us, but lifts us: He is our Mother who, "when we fall, hastily He raiseth

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to the Blessed Uprise on Easter-morrow: so long dured the cost and the charge about our redemption in deed: of the which deed He enjoyeth endlessly."

[53] Ibid., p. 63.

[54] Ibid., p. 64.

[55] Ibid., p. 132. "He is with us in earth, us leading; and that was shewed in the Third (Shewing), where I saw God in a Point" (p. 124). See also p. 196.

[56] Ibid., pp. 26-28.

us. . . ."[57] Because of His tender, maternal love, we are never overcome: "And though our earthly mother may suffer her child to perish, our heavenly Mother, Jesus, may not suffer us that are His children to perish: for He is All-Mighty, All-Wisdom, and All-Love."[58] It is because of the intimacy of the love between Jesus and the soul that the soul is never overcome by sin. One way of expressing this is in terms of the Incarnation and Resurrection: Jesus has wholly oned man to Himself, Substance and sense-soul, and borne saved man to heaven where sensual man is united to his higher nature, his Substance which is eternally kept in the Father. The religious experience of security and union with God is the reality which Dame Julian is trying to express here, but she involves herself in metaphysical difficulties which she cannot resolve and can only escape by an affirmation of obedience to the "common teaching of Holy Mother Church." But this same experience of security also prompts her to adopt the image of the divine maternity. In each case, but more clearly and less troublesomely in the second, the point is the certain overthrow of the Fiend, the healing of alienation between God and man. The All-mighty Mother defeats the Evil One.[59] The Mother brings the Child back to the Father.

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[57] Ibid., p. 152.

[58] Ibid., p. 154.

[59] The image of the female goddess, the Maternal Power, may come to mind here. It is certainly not an idea which Dame Julian consciously held, and the possibilities which depth psychology might raise go beyond the scope of this thesis.

In heaven, Jesus draws us, on earth He leads us, and in our soul, having conquered all, He reigns.

> And the Godhead ruleth and sustaineth heaven and earth and all that is,--sovereign Might, sovereign Wisdom, and sovereign Goodness,--but the place that Jesus taketh in our Soul He shall never remove it, without end, as to my sight: for in us is His homeliest home and His endless dwelling.[60]

Not until man was made right by being restored to the Trinity was he able to be what he was meant to be--the City where the Lord dwells.

> He made man's soul to be His own City and His dwelling-place: which is most pleasing to Him of all His works.[61] And what time that man was fallen into sorrow and pain, he was not all seemly to serve in that noble office; and therefore our Lord Father would prepare Himself no other place, but would sit upon the earth abiding mankind, which is mingled with earth, till what time by His grace His dearworthy Son had brought again His City into the noble fairness with His hard travail.[62]

This is, as we have said, the ultimate image of Christ in Dame Julian's book. The Lord reigning in the soul is the symbol of the triumph of love. In the so-called High Middle Ages, the image of the Lord's Triumph was the Te Deum, Christ in Majesty, surrounded by the angels and by representatives of the various states of life as saints who adore and praise Him. In Dame Julian's day, the triumph is personal--the City of the Lord is not heaven, but the soul. It is the triumph not of Power but of Love.

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[60] *Ibid.*, p. 167, and see p. 124.

[61] See *ibid.*, p. 168: "[The Lord's] dwelling is in the worthiest place."

[62] *Ibid.*, p. 113.

> For it is God's will that of all the properties of the blissful Trinity, we should have most sureness and comfort in Love: for Love maketh Might and Wisdom full meek to us.[63]

What really distinguishes Dame Julian's own vision of the triumph of Love is that she perceives this triumph precisely in the vision of the desolate, suffering Crucified Lord. It is her perception of the Glory beyond the death which sets her book apart from so much of the ordinary (and even extraordinary) spiritual writing of her day. Dame Julian refers the Passion to the Resurrection, and this sound theological insight was far from common in her time, especially among the laity, nurtured as they were on the emotional appeal of the Lord who suffers for me. Dame Julian's essential understanding of Jesus Christ, the Crucified, is that He is the Victor. Because she sees Him as Risen and Triumphant, her vision of Him is a vision of the Trinity. Unlike so many of her contemporaries, Dame Julian's relationship to her Lord was not the history-defying one of "He is dying here and now," but rather a relationship which is determined by the perception that the Death has led to the New Life. It is essential to her whole response to Him that she knows Him as Lord of the City.

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[63] Ibid., p. 180.

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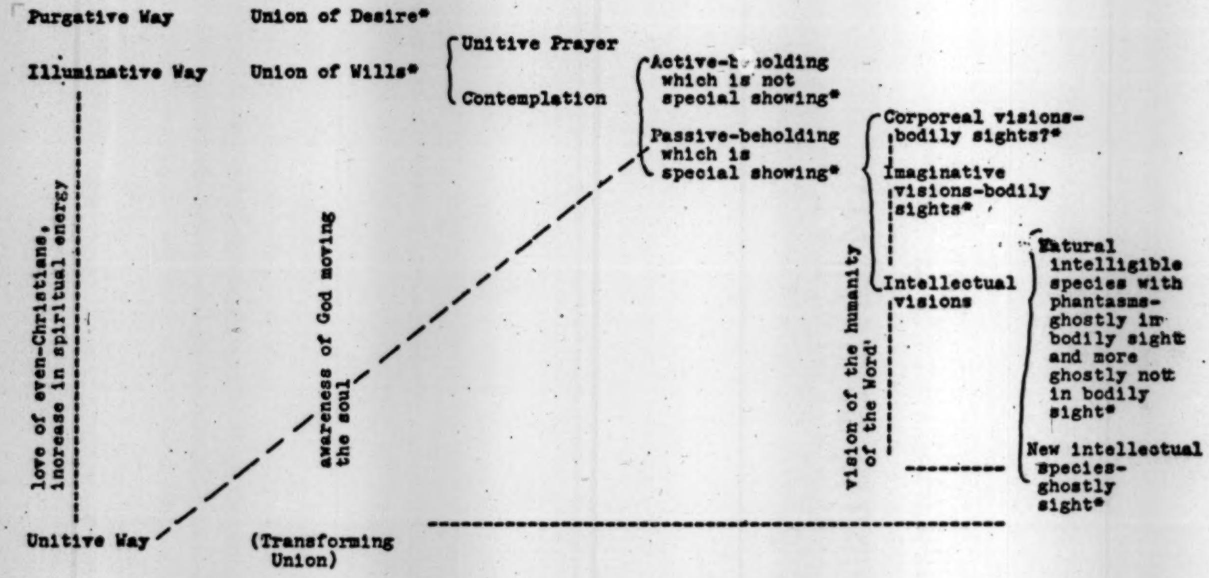
Purgative Way
Union of Desire*
Illuminative Way
Union of Wills*
Unitive Prayer
Contemplation
Active-beholding which is not special showing*
Passive-beholding which is special showing*
Corporeal visions-bodily sights?*
Imaginative visions-bodily sights*
Intellectual visions
Natural intelligible species with phantasms-ghostly in bodily sight and more ghostly not in bodily sight*
New intellectual species-ghostly sight*
love of even-Christians, increase in spiritual energy
awareness of God moving the soul
vision of the humanity of the Word
Unitive Way
(Transforming Union)

THE POSITION OF JULIAN OF NORWICH IN RELATION TO THE THREE WAYS OF THE MYSTICS

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*Indicates Dame Julian's phraseology. For the classification of the types of special showing in terms of the types of visions, see Molinari, p. 67.

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The Image of Christ in "The Revelations of Divine Love" of Julian of Norwich

Dissertation directed by Doris Donnelly, Ph.D.

This dissertation situates the image of Christ presented by Dame Julian of Norwich (1342-1414) in the historical context of fourteenth century English spirituality and indicates in what way Dame Julian's presentation of the Christ corresponds to and varies from popular images of that milieu. While several other studies of Dame Julian have appeared previously, these other studies have focused on either her contribution to the development of English prose or her doctrine of prayer. By contrast, this dissertation is an historical study of Dame Julian's perception of Jesus Christ.

The examination of Dame Julian's image of Christ begins with her own account of a series of visions she received in May 1373, an account which she wrote in 1393. We have no direct evidence of literary or visual influences to which Dame Julian may have been exposed. It has been necessary, therefore, to examine a range of sources representing various traditions: English, French, Italian, Rhenish and Netherlandish; Dominican, Franciscan, and Benedictine. Mystical literature, sermon literature, moral and

devotional literature, poetry and drama have all been used in the process of situating Dame Julian's image of Christ within an historical context. Special attention has been paid to vernacular English sources. In addition, extensive use has been made of the iconographic evidence provided by painting, sculpture and other visual arts, particularly needlework.

Dame Julian's visions of Christ begin with and center around her experience of the Crucified. The Passion was the dominant theme in late medieval piety, and this dominance is reflected in Dame Julian's spirituality. In the picture which she gives of the Passion, Dame Julian is very much the fourteenth century English lay woman. Virtually all of her descriptive passages correspond to contemporary imagery. In her appreciation of the Passion, however, Dame Julian reveals an insight which surpasses most contemporary popular piety. While the main body of contemporary literary and visual imagery focuses on the suffering of the Crucified, Dame Julian continually insists on the essentially joyful implications of the Passion and on the Joy of the Crucified. Certainly, her perception of the intimate love of the Crucified for those He died to save in no way lags behind the perception of her contemporaries. She demonstrates her perception of this love in the important use which she makes of the image of the Crucified as Mother, a little known but persistent tradition in medieval piety.

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The most important characteristic of Dame Julian's image of the Passion is her insistent and essential orientation of the Passion to the Resurrection. Undoubtedly, this is the presentation of Christian theology, but popular religion in fourteenth century Europe often did not move from perception of the Passion to appreciation of the Easter triumph. This appreciation is the most important characteristic of Dame Julian's piety because it means that she is always aware of the Passion as a work of the Trinity. In the Passion, the Second Person of the Trinity not only expresses the love of the Trinity for man, He reconciles man to the Trinity. In the Resurrection, the Crucified gathers up man and bears him to the Trinity. Thus, the Passion bears fruit in the Indwelling of the Trinity in men. This is the ultimate triumph of the Crucified. Well within the mainstream of orthodox Christian piety, Dame Julian is typical of her contemporaries in her description of the *Christus Redemptor*, but surpasses the majority in her appreciation of the *Christus Victor*. The dissertation indicates her position as a typical representative of medieval piety and stresses the way in which she goes beyond the typical.

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